26956

National Library of Canada | Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

CANADIAN THESES ON MICROFICHE

THÈSES CANADIENNES SUR MICROFICHE

NAME OF AUTHOR/*NOM DE L'AUTEUR* LeRoy John Wilson

TITLE OF THESIS/*TITRE DE LA THÈSE* "The Education of the Farmer: The Educational Objectives and Activities of the United Farmers of Alberta and the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association, 1920-1930."

UNIVERSITY/*UNIVERSITÉ* University of Alberta

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED/ *GRADE POUR LEQUEL CETTE THÈSE FUT PRÉSENTÉE* Ph.D.

YEAR THIS DEGREE CONFERRED/*ANNÉE D'OBTENTION DE CE GRADE* 1975

NAME OF SUPERVISOR/*NOM DU DIRECTEUR DE THÈSE* Dr. Robert S. Patterson

Permission is hereby granted to the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

L'autorisation est, par la présente, accordée à la BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DU CANADA de microfilmer cette thèse et de prêter ou de vendre des exemplaires du film.

L'auteur se réserve les autres droits de publication; ni la thèse ni de longs extraits de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans l'autorisation écrite de l'auteur.

DATED/*DATÉ* Oct. 29/75 SIGNED/*SIGNÉ* LJ Roy Wilson

PERMANENT ADDRESS/*RÉSIDENCE FIXÉ* 356 - 7 St. S.E.
Medicine Hat, Alta.

NL-91 (3-74)

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE EDUCATION OF THE FARMER: THE EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES AND ACTIVITIES OF THE UNITED FARMERS OF ALBERTA AND THE SASKATCHEWAN GRAIN GROWERS' ASSOCIATION, 1920-1930

by

© LEROY JOHN WILSON

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
FALL, 1975

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "The Education of the Farmer: The Educational Objectives and Activities of the United Farmers of Alberta and the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association, 1920-1930" submitted by LeRoy John Wilson in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

....
Supervisor

B. E. Walker
....

....

Macleod
....

Robert M. Stamp
....
External Examiner

Date ..13/11/75........

DEDICATION

TO:

SUSAN MARGARET GUNN

President, United Farm Women of Alberta, 1924-1929

> "I saw farm life as a permanent calling for me and my husband. For my children I was happy for them to have the freedom of farm life; the companionship of lovely saddle horses and beautiful dogs; the physical work in field and garden....I wanted them to love beauty in the home, in school, in daily life and out-of-doors. Nowhere could these things be so readily obtainable as on the farm."
>
> - Susan M. Gunn,
> March 1972.

ABSTRACT

In this thesis the writer describes the nature of the educational objectives and activities of two prairie farmer organizations, the United Farmers of Alberta [U.F.A.] and the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association [S.G.G.A.]. These two organizations were chosen for study because, at least in their educational commitment and work, one complemented the other. Both had their genesis within a milieu of economic, political and social conditions oppressive to rural westerners. Both undertook similar educational objectives - the rectification of these injustices through organization. As the two organizations evolved they developed educational objectives at variance with each other. Nevertheless, throughout the decade under study, the two organizations maintained similar educational activities.

The years 1920-1930 in Canada marked the high-point of years of agrarian political organization and activity. It was during this decade that the farmer organizations exerted their last and most direct impact on the country's social, political and economic conditions. Through education the farm leaders planned to revivify their membership in order to ensure an ever increasing strength for the organizations, and to improve the economic and cultural environment.

Concern for the quality of rural life overlapped into the area of formal public education as women leaders within the two agrarian associations agitated for the reform of the rural school system. In Alberta, especially, the agrarian women displayed a more aggressive role in agitating for reform, a crusade which placed them within the vanguard of Canada's contemporary progressive educational movement.

The bulk of the thesis provides a description of the many educational activities maintained by these two organizations. The U.F.A. and S.G.G.A. both had a provincial and local association thrust to their educational work, with the former being of more significance. Comparing the educational activities undertaken within the two provinces, the leaders of the U.F.A., fired with an ideological mission, gave greater commitment to the educational work of that organization.

Though the educational programs sponsored by the agrarians did little to prevent the disintegration which affected both the U.F.A. and the S.G.G.A. during the 1920's, both organizations devoted considerable effort and resources to live up to high ideals conceived at relatively early points in their history.

PREFACE

In an unpublished Master's thesis, "Perren Baker and the United Farmers of Alberta," this writer studied the educational principles and policies of the United Farmers of Alberta when they formed the government of the province from 1921 to 1935. During that study it was found that (1) many school innovations introduced during the Social Credit political regime after 1935 had their genesis during the earlier years of the farmer's government; and (2) the Alberta agrarian organization not only concerned itself with school reform, but attempted to establish a broad array of informal educational activities for its members. These findings led to this writer's interest in a study of the educational mission of the Alberta and Saskatchewan farm groups, the two most prominent agrarian organizations within the country.

Although the pre-World War II prairie agrarian movement has attracted considerable attention from historians and graduate students, the bulk of secondary materials available have stressed the political rather than the educational aspects of this movement. Educational activities have received only scant attention. W.L. Morton traces the rise of the political wing of the agrarian movement in his study, The Progressive Party in Canada. Paul Sharp's account, The Agrarian Revolt in Western Canada, concentrates on the political manifestations of agrarianism in Western Canada. In this work, as elsewhere in his writing, Sharp emphasizes the influence of earlier American reform groups on the development of Canadian farm organizations. Rolf's biography, Henry Wise Wood of Alberta, and C.B. Macpherson's Democracy in Alberta show the ideological strength of the U.F.A. during the period under study. A similar emphasis is found in Marcia Smith's unpublished thesis, "The Ideological Relationship Between the United Farmers of Alberta and the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation."

Other works provide the essential political and social background for the study, but place only scant attention on the educational undertakings of the various farmer groups. F.W. Anderson's unpublished thesis, "Some Political Aspects of the Grain Growers' Movement (1915-1935)," concentrates largely on the struggle to move the S.G.G.A. into political activity. Richard Allen's work on the social gospel included in his unpublished thesis, "Salem Bland and the Social Gospel in Canada," and in The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1928, provide background to the broader social reform impetus of the decade under study. One important work, from a sociological perspective, which attempts to measure the rural response to the farm movement is J.N. McCrorie's Ph.D. thesis, "The Saskatchewan Farmers' Movement: A Case Study."

Only a few secondary sources provide material specifically on the educational work of the two farm associations. A.R. Turner's thesis, "W.R. Motherwell and Agricultural Development in Saskatchewan, 1905-1918," demonstrates clearly the contributions to scientific farming made in Saskatchewan by this early farm leader. Barbara Cormack's book on the life of the Honorable Irene Parlby, Perennials and Politics, touches briefly on the educational work of the U.F.W.A. One of the better secondary references is G.E. Britnell's The Wheat Economy, in which the author writes at some length about the educational endeavors of the prairie governments in the period under study.

Fortunately, considerable primary resource material is available for the documentation of a study in the educational objectives, programs and activities of the farm organizations and their leaders. The papers of Mrs. John McNaughton, founder of the women's auxiliary to the S.G.G.A., include accounts of the educational work of that organization. The minutes of board meetings, convention notes and reports, and other related papers of both the U.F.A. and the S.G.G.A. record the work of their Education Committees and the importance of educational activities within these organizations. As well, preserved copies of contemporary farm journals stress the priority given to educational objectives. The U.F.A. in Alberta, The Progressive and The Western Producer in Saskatchewan, as well as the Canada-Wide Grain Growers' Guide contain promotional messages from farm leaders, record the activities of the various locals of the association, and carry printed essays related to all aspects of the vocation of farming.

Thus, despite the prominent position held by these two organizations in the historical literature of the period, there is clearly an absence of educational emphasis in the material.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am, first of all, thankful for the assistance given to me by surviving, prominent members of the Canadian agrarian movement: Mrs. Susan M. Gunn, Saskatoon, and Mrs. Winnifred Ross of Millet, both former presidents of the U.F.W.A.; the Rev. Francis S. Fry, Calgary, former president of the Junior U.F.A.; Mr. I.V. Macklin of Grande Prairie, chairman of the U.F.A.'s Education Committee during the 1920's; Mr. George Bechtold, Armstrong, B.C., former director, Junior U.F.A.; and Mr. E.J. Garland, Creston, B.C., former U.F.A. leader and Member of Parliament. All of these wonderful people have either allowed me interview time, or have corresponded at length with me concerning their work in the agrarian movement.

Professors Robert S. Patterson and Bernal E. Walker have sustained me in my pursuit of the agrarian phenomenon for nearly a decade. Their standards of excellence have been a challenge and an inspiration.

A thank you is due to Dr. R. McLeod, Department of History, for his earlier, critical assessment of the thesis; and to Professors Robert M. Stamp, University of Calgary, and R.G. Glassford for their willingness to serve on my examination committee.

My wife, Colleen has given many hours in the preparation of earlier drafts of this thesis, and of this final copy. I owe a special word of appreciation to her.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE

I. INTRODUCTION 1

Purpose of Study 1

The Setting 7

Structure of Thesis 11

II. EMERGENCE OF THE PRAIRIE FARMER ORGANIZATIONS 15

Grievances of the Agrarians 15

Nature of the Farmer Organizations . . . 25

III. THE FARMERS' EDUCATIONAL COMMITMENT 36

Importance of Education 36

Agrarian Education and the Co-operative Tradition 42

Educational Aims and Objectives 46

Educational Leadership 58

IV. EDUCATION AND THE UNITED FARMERS OF ALBERTA. 68

Justification for Educational Emphasis. . 68

Educational Pursuits of the United Farmers of Alberta 71

The U.F.A. Local as an Educational Force. 83

V. THE UNITED FARM WOMEN OF ALBERTA AND EDUCATION 91

The United Farm Women of Alberta: Educational Mission 91

Work of the U.F.W.A. 96

The Local Association 100

Educational Leadership 105

CHAPTER PAGE

VI. THE YOUTH OF THE ALBERTA FARM MOVEMENT: THE JUNIOR UNITED FARMERS OF ALBERTA . . 118

Goals and Purposes. 118

Organization 123

Provincial Youth Activities 126

University Week for Young People . . . 137

VII. THE EDUCATION OF THE SASKATCHEWAN FARMER . 146

Educational Mission of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association 146

Educational Activities of the S.G.G.A. 152

The Farmers'Union of Canada 163

United Farmers of Canada (Saskatchewan Section). 167

VIII. THE EDUCATION OF THE FARM WOMEN AND YOUTH OF SASKATCHEWAN 180

Introduction 180

Educational Mission and Leadership . . 181

The Women's Educational Activities . . 191

The Junior Farm Movement: Aims and Objectives 200

Organization and Activities 203

IX. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION 211

FOOTNOTES 222

BIBLIOGRAPHY 261

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of Study

The Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association [S.G.G.A.] and the United Farmers of Alberta [U.F.A.] were two small units of the common people's reform movement. Even a superficial perusal of the historical literature proves that the organizations within the Canadian farm movement held a commitment to educational pursuits. Using the vehicles of farm newspapers, widely distributed tracts, meetings and conventions, the educational work was undertaken. Farm leaders in both provinces attempted to design adequate means to fulfil their educational objectives. This thesis describes, analyzes and compares the goals, the practices and the accomplishments of the two farm organizations.

It is known that there were several obvious differences between the Saskatchewan and Alberta agrarian groups. The S.G.G.A. was nearly a decade older than the U.F.A., with a distinguished history of political and economic accomplishment to its credit. By 1921, with the U.F.A. at the height of its power, the Saskatchewan organization was demonstrating signs of old age, signs its Alberta counterpart would be showing before that same decade ran out. There were also differences between the leaders of the U.F.A. and S.G.G.A. The Alberta agrarians were led largely by idealists, while the Saskatchewan organization was dominated by business-oriented and politically-minded individuals. It is important to know whether such differences contributed to divergent approaches in their educational emphasis.

The Saskatchewan and Alberta organizations were designed with identical structures. At the grassroot's level were found the local associations. Above the local were the district and provincial conventions and the central boards or executives. At each level there were different educational purposes conceived, and varying activities undertaken. As well, a major organizational division was made between the men, the women and the young people within both groups. How these divisions and levels responded to the educational mission is central to the investigation within this thesis.

During the decade of the 1920's there existed side by side with the agrarian organizations, other competing and complementary educational organizations. In Saskatchewan, for example, early in the decade, another agrarian organization was founded. In both provinces, the Women's Institutes and Farmers' Institutes were vying with the agrarians for membership support and government and university backing. After 1923 there was an additional farm organization on the prairie, one with both an economic and an educational thrust: the Wheat Pool.[1] These provincial Wheat Pools offered their members tangible proof of the value of their organizations. Like the "store movement" within British co-operation, Western Canada's most successful agencies for producer co-operation used education to improve their member's vocational skills. It was this very approach that appeared to appeal to the mass of the prairie farmers. In the thesis the question of the relationship between the U.F.A. and the S.G.G.A. on the one hand, and contemporary informal educational agencies on the other, will be explored.

It is not difficult to ascertain the stated educational objectives of the U.F.A. and the S.G.G.A. In this thesis these objectives will be described. Within the secondary literature on the farm movement there is ample evidence that education is given priority. As recorded in goal statements it appears that the two organizations intended to accomplish almost identical ends. Yet it is also probable that two organizations which differed in so many ways, likely held educational objectives at variance with each other. Thus, the writer undertook to study the educational aims and objectives that developed out of and beyond those common, written expressions of educational intention. Through such a study of these it is anticipated that a better understanding of similarities and differences will be obtained.

Aims and objectives are meaningless without methods employed to bring about their fulfilment. Therefore, the writer has attempted to discover the methods employed by these agrarian groups to accomplish their educational objectives. An initial survey of the primary material indicates that there are few noticeable differences as demonstrated in the educational means employed by either the U.F.A. or the S.G.G.A. This appears especially true at the local agrarian unit. In both provinces the association locals concentrated on very basic problems and issues. Just what caused such a similarity in practice, when there are apparent differences in objectives, will be investigated.

Perhaps one of the more fruitful areas of research involves the relationship between the agrarian organizations and those existing formal educational institutions of the decade. The women's section of the agrarian organizations, it is known, were active promotors of improved rural schooling. Alberta's Honorable Irene Parlby and Susan Margaret Gunn, and Saskatchewan's Annie Hollis, to name but three, were knowledgeable about and in sympathy with the ideals of the broader progressive education movement within North America. Through her travels abroad, Mrs. Parlby came to be familiar with European educational innovations, while Alberta's Donald Cameron, a former president of the agrarian youth in that province, was given the opportunity to study the system of folk schools in Scandinavia. The U.F.W.A., through a committee designated for that specific purpose, agitated for a new direction for rural schools, whether the modified

Dalton Plan or some similar scheme, so long as schools could be made meaningful to the rural children. Annie Hollis, a leader in the Women's Grain Growers' Association [W.G.G.A.], was also attracted to progressive objectives for education, but was given less opportunity to engage her fellow farmers in the pursuit of such a possible transformation for the rural school system of Saskatchewan. This strong contingent of prairie agrarian women used the farmers' newspaper, the convention podium and the platform of the rural meeting hall, to propagate the need for a change in rural schools. They were truly within the vanguard of the great social reform movement for progressive education. In this thesis the efforts of the farm leaders, especially the women, will be described.

As well, the farm organizations maintained close ties with other existing agencies of formal education. For example, the Department of Agriculture in both provinces had, for years, carried on educational work. Within the prairie universities, specifically the Department of Extension, a rural educational outreach was maintained. The extension work in Alberta, initiated and promoted first by University president, Dr. Henry Tory, saw the educational needs of the farmer in a broad, liberal fashion; while in Saskatchewan the University in that province took a more specific, practical and vocational approach in its appraisal of the educational needs and aspirations of its rural constituents. One would suspect that this dichotomy of approach to rural educational extension might have some effect on how the two sets of farm leaders conceived of their educational objectives and means.

Finally, an attempt will be made throughout the thesis to measure the impact of the U.F.A. and the S.G.G.A. on the educational developments of the period. At first it would appear that the agrarians failed in their efforts to cause significant social, economic and political change through the medium of education. As early as 1926 the S.G.G.A. had disappeared into an amalgamation with a rival, less-prestigious farm group, the Farmers' Union of Canada. In Alberta, with the retirement of president Henry Wise Wood in 1932, the Alberta agrarians veered sharply away from the reform pattern laid down so carefully by the respected old leader. They gave up the pursuit of those goals which he had held while leader of the Alberta organization. When it came to determining the direction that either organization would take, it appeared to be other considerations, political and economic, which weighed more heavily than the educational.[2]

What then was the impact made? The agrarian leaders agitated for school reform. They undertook to make available to rural youth a greater array of educational opportunities. But did the agrarians really add a significant dimension to the lives of these youth because of their efforts?

During the following decade, the 193[illegible]s, there were changes brought about in the prairie school system. Can the farm organizations take credit for such advances? The agrarian reformers were only a minority within the broader movement which was agitating for reforms in education. Very few agrarians had a background as professional educators; fewer still had any considerable influence in those circles where educational decisions were made. Was the role of the agrarian educational reformers merely as publicists, and to a very restricted audience at that?

Were the educational activities provided for the adults and youth of the organizations capable of providing real educational opportunities to clearly supplement and complement the existing educational services then available?

A superficial assessment of the agrarian's educational impact cannot be made without placing the two organizations within the framework of that decade of the twenties. Did other events and forces conspire to aid or deter the agrarians in fulfiling their educational aims and objectives?

The Setting

The Great War interfered decisively in the life of the Canadian people mid-point in the second decade of the new century. Before the outbreak of hostilities North

Americans had been experiencing the excitement associated with social reform. The impetus for change occurred earlier in the United States, but each reform thrust there lapped across the border. Many of the reform ideas became part of what came to be known as the Social Gospel, since much of the agitation came from a significant minority of the protestant clergy. Perhaps the crucial issue of the reformers was prohibition. If alcohol and its effects could be banished from the earth, then mankind could begin making progress towards social perfection, the hope of the reformers. It was the women who, along with the clergy, provided much of the leadership in this reform cause. Thus it was to be expected that they should also begin to anticipate the day when women might be enfranchised in order that significant change within the political and legal systems of the countries would become a reality.

Along with the women and clerics were others who were dedicated to political reform. There sprang up, before the Great War, a variety of groups which saw progress in participatory democracy, rather than in the partisan-style politics which had developed on the continent. Extension of the franchise to women was only one such improvement that gained the support of those in the Non-Partisan League, one of the groups dedicated to electoral reform.

Pre-World War I reformers were also involved in movements to bring about other social reforms. In both America and Eastern Canada there were those working for improvements within the school systems of these two areas. In America, the Country Life Commission investigated rural schooling and other social concerns of rural America.[3] Appropriate recommendations were made. In Eastern Canada, the New Education Movement was at its height before the outbreak of war. Even in Saskatchewan a significant step was taken when the American educator, Dr. H.E. Foght, was invited to the prairies in 1916 to assess the rural school situation and to make appropriate recommendations for change.

In the economic realm, the prairie farmers who organized the Territorial Grain Growers' Association in 1903, had by 1914 made considerable gains, by then having won for farm interests a seat on the Winnipeg Grain Exchange, and having gained the support of provincial and federal governments in their struggle for economic betterment. Even the accepted practice of tariff protection for Canada's industrial base in Ontario was less popular in 1914, due, in part, to the agrarian agitation carried on against the National Policy.

Thus it is clear that before the so-called progressive decade had arrived there had been a variety of reformist groups at work, and significant social, political and economic change attained.

With the end of the war in Europe, and the return of the Canadian soldiers to the homeland, there was a great expectancy in the country. Fired by the visionary war-time leadership of America's president, Woodrow Wilson, many believed that mankind was truly on the portal of a new era. Unfortunately, in Canada at least, hopes were dampened by the series of labor disputes which plagued the country immediately after the end of the war. In Winnipeg, in 1919, the country's attention was fixed on a new kind of worker agitation, aggressive and violent. The international and industrial labor movement had arrived in Canada, and socialism was no longer only a European phenomenon.

Therefore, during the decade of the 1920's the reform emphasis was maintained, though altered in appearance and aims. There was continuing feminist agitation for fuller human rights, a sustained interest in ending social abuse as embodied by the Social Gospel movement, and the efforts of the agrarians to preserve the economic viability of agriculture. During the 1920's the shift from the predominance of agriculture, towards industry and technology, took place. The agrarian movement made a stand to preserve the family farm. Meanwhile, the majority of their countrymen saw in the new Canada the wave of the future. For many Canadians the decade of the 1920's was a return to normalcy. After the post-war depression came prosperity, and the money was ready at hand to make life more pleasurable. The fruits of technology, such as the automobile and radio, were now available to farm and town dweller alike. What had been the continuing reform trend of the pre-war years lost much of its drive in the economic upswing at the middle of the progressive decade. It was within this context of expectancy and frustration that the farm movement attempted to maintain its own reform drive. Just how successful the agrarians proved to be is part of this particular study.

Structure of Thesis

The thesis is designed to concentrate on a description of the educational activities of two agrarian organizations, the U.F.A. and the S.G.G.A. Early in the pre-Great War years economic grievances stimulated the growth of the farmers' movement. Through organization, accompanied by a study of the exploitive forces at work in the society, farm leaders hoped that a more just set of economic conditions could be arrived at. The call to organize spurred a proliferation of educational activities, all designed to assist the farmer in understanding the misery of his condition. Following this common beginning, however, the two agrarian organizations evolved in separate patterns.

There is evidence that farm leaders recognized the importance of education to the agrarian movement. The purpose of the educational work was seen by the majority as practical and vocational, such as a study of the farmers' legal position, of his economic and political problems, or a study of better farming techniques. A second group of leaders saw agrarian education in a more visionary fashion. The perfection of individual and social life and the building of a new social order became their goal. What was developing between these two organizations was a dichotomy of purpose.

The writer then moves into a description of the activities of the U.F.A. organization. The leadership of that organization provided several means for carrying through their education program. The U.F.A. newspaper was an effective instrument for mass propagandizing. The regular meetings and conventions provided the important contact between leaders and followers. The Education Committee was established to promote the education of the members, to provide a critique of the shortcomings of the rural school and to set forth constructive suggestions for the improvement of that institution. All of these activities maintained by the U.F.A.'s Central Executive were significant. Nonetheless, at the local association level the farmers' educational programs were decidedly mediocre, considering the importance of the task set before the membership.

A contribution of the women's organization was in their advocacy for reform of the rural cultural environment. They took the work seriously. It was most often the women who were especially aggressive in their push for school reform. As well, the U.F.W.A. leaders attempted to develop a viable education program for their members. Here again the work of the local associations fell short of what was needed in order to provide for a major educational thrust.

Where the women of Alberta made another significant contribution was in their fostering of the youth wing of the organization, the Junior U.F.A. With the support of the province's University, University Week for Young People was begun in 1919. If any one factor was a key to the longevity and health of the Junior U.F.A., it was this annual, weekly conference which brought together nearly 200 young people from across the province.

Following Alberta's lead, the S.G.G.A. took steps to upgrade its own educational work. Saskatchewan's Department of Agriculture and the University's Extension Department had long maintained active educational outreach programs. Both the S.G.G.A. and its women's auxiliary found it more difficult to originate their own viable educational programs there. Nevertheless, the S.G.G.A. leadership co-operated willingly with the existing educational agencies in Saskatchewan. As a result, the local associations stressed aspects of scientific farming in their meetings together.

The S.G.G.A. was not as ideological nor reformist in nature as was the U.F.A. Also, the S.G.G.A., by the 1920's, was seriously rent by internal political dissension. Both factors were detrimental to leaders determined to provide an educational orientation to the group. After 1926, when the farm organization was again united within the province, this time under the name of the U.F.C., an important educational work was begun, especially among the young people. But it was too late. Within three years the weight of the Great Depression fell on the province, and the obsession of the farmers with mere survival cut short the plans of their leaders.

Throughout the thesis the focus will be on a description and comparison of the educational ideas and practices of the U.F.A. and the S.G.G.A. Both organizations began with common educational goals, but as the U.F.A. developed an ideological stance under Henry Wise Wood, it came to see its educational objectives in terms of the reformation of the entire social structure. The S.G.G.A., on the other hand, maintained its attachment to the original short-range, vocational educational objectives. In spite of these differences, neither organization differed significantly in the nature of the educational opportunities provided for its members, although the Alberta organization went further in the extent of the provisions provided.

The significance of a study such as this is in the recognition that two primarily economic organizations undertook an educational mission. This was true to the agrarian tradition of which they were a manifestation, and in response to an obvious absence of educational opportunity available to them. The demands made by them upon formal educational institutions in Canada at that time were one part of a much larger movement for wholesale educational reform.

CHAPTER II

EMERGENCE OF THE PRAIRIE FARMER ORGANIZATION

Grievances of the Agrarians

Early in the Twentieth Century the Territorial Grain Growers' Association was founded. It served as the fountainhead from which emerged several prairie farm organizations. Two such organizations, the S.G.G.A. and the U.F.A., came into existence largely in response to a set of highly unfavorable economic, political and social conditions which troubled the rural sector of Western Canadian society. Although the National Policy of the Macdonald administration was no longer formally espoused by the federal governments of the period, the effects and influence of this Policy seemingly continued to haunt westerners generally, and western farmers, particularly. Low prices for agricultural products and high capital and operating costs plagued the rural population. Scientific and technical knowledge, on the increase in popularity and utilization in many spheres of life, was not being utilized to its maximum potential in relation to the farm economy. The natural elements were still the dominant and ruling ingredient of rural primary production.

Vernon Fowke claims that the years from 1912 to 1921 marked the "high-water mark of agrarian success,"[1] since 1912 saw the passing of the Canada Grain Act and 1921 secured legislation permissive towards the re-establishment of a wheat board. In terms of economic success Fowke's judgement is probably correct. Both the Alberta and Saskatchewan organizations had grown in response to common conditions of hardships, and by 1921 had made an important impact upon the economic realm within the country.

On the prairies a latent dissatisfaction with economic conditions often led the farmers to a manifestation of revolt. Eventually, crisis after crisis created a particular kind of farmer mentality on issues affecting rural life and work. The farmer believed that his was a noble profession, necessary to the life of society. Yet his economic returns and living conditions did not seem appropriate to the esteem which his fellow members of society claimed they were willing to grant to him. Circumstances such as low prices earned for produce, inadequate delivery systems, and seemingly unfair produce grading practices drastically affected life on the farm. The farmer was quick to notice his own problems, and slower to understand the difficulties of others in the economic marketplace. He intended to make good; frustrations hampering his achievement of this goal were an evil. There were those few among the farmers, claiming to be knowledgeable, who were articulate and aggressive. They offered help to their brothers in understanding the forces of exploitation arrayed against them.

Another factor at work during the time when the three prairie farm organizations were in their early development was the impact made on the farm community by the First World War. One striking feature of the war years was the formation of the federal Union Government under Robert Borden, designed to organize and prosecute the war effort without danger of petty political divisions. Throughout Western Canada the Liberal party had claimed for itself the role of farmer representative, but it was the Liberal party which was split asunder when formation of the Union Government was finally accomplished.

The bitterness engendered within the Liberal Party over this issue served to frustrate those agricultural groups which had, up to that time, tried to secure expression for their protests by supporting and exerting influence upon the Liberal Party. A vacuum had been created which the progressives and agrarians rushed in to fill, in spite of the early support given to the Union Government concept by farm leaders. Then, when the Union Government cancelled agricultural exemptions from military service, and dealt brusquely with the group of farm leaders who protested the move, further impetus to independent political action was stimulated.[2]

Although the war period itself brought a measure of prosperity to the prairie grain grower, his economic status still did not progress equally with workers in other sectors of the economy. What disenchantment there was with the "Last Best West," which had been building up since the great immigration boom of the first decade of the new century, faded and was partially dispelled as the land started to pay off. The sudden prosperity was not to last, but the farmer was not able to see that Europe could not continue to buy up prairie production interminably.

Even though the war years did mark an improvement in the general level of prosperity, there were still economic problems developing within the country which continued to provoke further discontent. The Rowell-Sirois commissioners commented on this in the section of their report dealing with the years from 1914-1921:

> ...the position of some labour and agricultural groups improved [during the War]. However, prosperity and good fortune are always, to a great extent, relative. Psychological factors played a large part in the revolt. There was general alarm and resentment, as well as actual suffering, over the steep and continuous rise in prices. There was widespread evidence of large profits having been reaped from War prosperity....The inequality of rewards and sacrifices was real and striking. Popular indignation at these inequities and misunderstanding of the causes behind them made the inequalities seem even greater and more sinister than they really were.[3]

Naturally, the farmers wanted prosperity to continue. And the youthful farm boys who had won the war and had returned to the farms of the prairies as victors, were anxious to assume a deserving part of the good times being enjoyed throughout the land. But with the end of the war, back came the old problems to haunt and frustrate the farmer, and force him to look for answers. Rising costs of production on the one hand and high interest and debt charges on the other, began to put a squeeze on the farmer.

As well, the increase in wheat prices had not been keeping pace with the rise in expenses, so shortly after the excitement of the war's termination the farmer discovered his critical condition.

Such fluctuating economic conditions lacked appeal for many youngsters on the farm, and the call of the city, the heartland of the industrial world, was tempting. For the farmer, industrial expansion was linked with the city in opposition to the farm, with the East in opposition to the West. The Canadian Annual Review, reporting post-war conditions, indicated that "The lure of the city continued to draw young men from the farms as it did from towns and villages."[4] The loss of their young people was not acceptable to many among the farm population. If the lot of the farmer could be improved the young could be more easily persuaded to stay on the farm, the farmers believed.[5]

As well as economic and political inequities experienced by rural westerners, farm organization leaders, especially those associated with the Social Gospel movement in the country, were sensitive to a number of blatant social abuses affecting the rural areas of the country. Inadequate or inaccessible health facilities were a frequent cause for complaint. What reform leaders saw as unenlightened social legislation was an ever present reason for agitation. And to the members of the farm organizations who had obtained some degree of formal education themselves, a paramount social abuse was close at hand: the very inadequate one room rural school.

Despite Alberta's Inspector Gorman's optimistic report in 1926 "that progress was evident in every phase of education work" as witnessed by "more schools, better schools, more efficient teachers, longer periods of operation, and a better average attendance than ever before,"[6] the farm organization's leaders throughout the prairies, and the women's auxiliaries in particular, were united in their acute dissatisfaction with the system of rural schools in Alberta and Saskatchewan. Their criticisms of rural schooling, and their advocacy of necessary change to provide equality of opportunity, were major contributions to the gradual improvement of prairie schooling.

Goresky, in his study of the development of Alberta's schools, documents the problems facing rural schools on the prairies after World War I. Teachers were immature, poorly prepared, and transient; and the profession had an abundance of misfits. The poor regions of the province, in some cases severely depopulated during the course of the war, were unable to raise a sufficient assessment to support a school operating for a full term. As well, it seemed impossible to find enough dedicated trustees to govern the hundreds of minute school districts. These trustees were often lax in tax collection, or irresponsible in the management of what school funds there were.[7]

Many of the rural children took these rural schools about as seriously as did their parents. In Saskatchewan between the years 1905-1917, "the average rural school had operated less than 160 days with an average daily attendance of less than 55 per cent of the pupils enrolled...."[8] Between 1917 and 1929 the percentage of attendance in Saskatchewan rose gradually if irregularly from 60% to 66% - figures which were representative of the prairies generally.[9] The figures which describe the average years of schooling for prairie children demonstrate further the serious condition of rural schooling in Western Canada. The statistics show an average of 4.96 years of schooling received by Saskatchewan children in 1911, and 4.92 in Alberta - the lowest figures throughout Canada. By 1921 the figures show 6.95 and 7.46 years respectively, and ten years later 8.39 and 8.82.[10] By the 1930's the prairie provinces had achieved near equality with other regions of the country, especially as a result of the improvements in urban schooling. Yet, the majority of rural schools remained in serious condition throughout this entire period, while the opportunity for secondary schooling was practically non-existent.

As early as 1918, Mrs. Leona Barritt, convenor of the Rural Schools Committee for the U.F.W.A., outlined to convention delegates the problems of rural schooling as she saw them:

> There is the problem of the one-room school with a few pupils and a new teacher every term, the problem of the short term school, the permit teacher, the absence of any standardization for

> the Dominion, and teachers coming from every province and from other countries, each accustomed to a different course of study. Then there is the problem of supervision....There is the problem of manual training, which we must have; physical training which we have too long neglected; music, art and medical inspection. Then there is the problem of the immature teacher....[11]

At the same time, Mrs. S.V. Haight in Saskatchewan was writing and speaking of the weaknesses in rural schooling in that province. Using the podium of the Women Grain Growers' Annual Convention, and the pages of The Progressive, she described her concern with the condition faced by the teachers sent out to rural schools:

> We have one teacher about 10 months or less a year in our country schools. These teachers are expected to teach all grades and try to find time for a little music, elocution, nature study, etc. ...Is this fair? Would not a little of the military money spent for what some people call patriotism make as many real patriotic boys and girls if spent in education?[12]

Thus, building up throughout the prairie region was the realization that the kind of schools which had served the needs of the pioneer community were not capable of meeting the requirements of the post-war world.

Up to the end of the twenties Leona Barritt, a long-time advocate of better rural schools, was writing about the defects in rural schools. The lack of playground equipment and the absence of blackboard space were noticeable. Most rural schools carried no art program and were marked by "inaccuracy and untidiness," she claimed.[13] Since 1918 Barritt had also been an advocate of the Foght proposals for the municipal school district, and was still writing of the need for school district reorganization in her special articles on education in 1927.[14] In 1918, as convenor of the Rural Schools Committee, Barritt had recommended the calling of a commission to study the whole gamut of schools in her province; the advisability of placing the study of Biblical literature within the curriculum; the promotion of agricultural and technical schools; the nationalization of school text-books; and the formation of a Canadian Bureau of Education.[15] Mrs. Barritt also supported enthusiastically Dr. Foght's proposal that the system of inspections then in practice should be scrapped. In a letter to the editor of The A.T.A. Magazine, the New Norway school teacher wrote:

> So futile has the system [of inspections] proved in the past, however, that inspection generally has fallen into disrepute. One has only to listen to the discussions of intelligent rural people at such representative gatherings as the U.F.A. and U.F.W.A. Conventions to know how the system is regarded. That is why so little protest is voiced when word went forth that the axe was to be applied....What is really needed is not annual or even semi-annual inspection; it is a system of supervision.[16]

After 1921 the specific suggestions for improvement in the school system were openly entertained by the U.F.A.'s own government, and perhaps it was this which moved the agrarians to a more theoretical stance on educational issues. An important thrust by the Education Committees of both the U.F.A. and the U.F.W.A. was aimed at the very basis of the rural schools - the aims and objectives:

> We must, as a Province, more clearly grasp the "idea" that a school life should be an integral and natural part of community life; that education consists largely in linking up the individual with the community to the advantage of both.[17]

The Honorable Irene Parlby, Leona Barritt, Susan Gunn, Winnifred Ross, I.V. Macklin, and others, supported enthusiastically by Ontario's Agnes Macphail, were in the vanguard of the "creative education" (progressive) movement during the decade. Having witnessed the functioning of Scandanavian rural schools, and equivalent English innovative schools, Parlby was prepared to promote progressive education everywhere. She spoke before Saskatchewan women, addressing them on topics related to the new education. Mrs. Parlby's faith in the potential of the child was the basis for her belief in creative education:

> ...the function of the school is to assist growth, but that the growing must be done by the child itself, that it cannot be done vicariously and that in fact that teacher stands in the same relation to the child as the gardener to his plants. Both have to provide nourishment suitable for healthy growth, and provide suitable cultivation for the young things under their care.[18]

This new approach to schools was to replace what Agnes Macphail called a system "infected with dry rot."[19] And whereas in Saskatchewan few men of prominence in the farm movement there took special interest in educational problems, Alberta's I.V. Macklin served a lengthy and dedicated term on the U.F.A.'s Education Committee. Although he found it almost impossible to stir his fellows to a similar degree of concern, Macklin continued advocating change throughout the decade.

As a result of these many grievances and inequities, farmers within each prairie province banded together in a variety of farmer protest groups, inspired and led by a small group of dedicated men and women. The leaders of this agrarian movement determined, probably more than any other factor, the course that the revolt would take. The West, it appeared, was sprinkled with malcontents who were at work stirring up their neighbors. European socialists, American populists and social gospellers were agitating the farmers into action. If such people were not reading and discussing the literature of dissent circulating at the time, they were writing it. The two decades following the Great War were marked by a proliferation of tracts, news-sheets and the more dignified newspaper and magazine, all serving a market of eager readers. From this seed sprung the two agrarian organizations studied in this dissertation.

Nature of the Farmer Organizations

The farmer associations of Manitoba and Saskatchewan had a common root in the Territorial Grain Growers' Association formed officially at Indian Head, Saskatchewan as early as 1902. W.R. Motherwell, one of the founders, brought the gospel of grain growers' co-operation to Manitoba the next year to help launch the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association. Both movements began as economic and educational organizations, although the Manitoba group changed its name in 1919 to indicate greater militancy and its political intentions. Thenceforth, the organized farmers in that province were known as the United Farmers of Manitoba. The Saskatchewan farmers maintained their original name and intention to remain aloof from political action until 1926, when a merger between the S.G.G.A. and the militant, left-wing Farmers' Union of Canada brought into being the United Farmers of Canada (Saskatchewan Section) [U.F.C.].[20]

In Alberta, the United Farmers of Alberta was formed in 1909 from a union of two existing farmer organizations, the Alberta Farmers' Association and the American-based Society of Equity. The early development of the U.F.A. followed the patterns set by the movement in Saskatchewan and Manitoba with its strong interest in economic betterment until 1915, when Henry Wise Wood assumed the leadership of the Alberta farmer organization. From that time on the Alberta wing of the farm movement became, in part, the creature of Wood, and carried his personal set of ideas to national prominence through its political and educational efforts.

Each provincial organization developed its own characteristics, and each organization handled its political and educational affairs differently. Nevertheless, the three organizations all belonged to the Canadian Council of Agriculture, and so supported the National Farmers' Platform of 1916. Such political unity as was found under this national statement of agrarian purpose made possible the emergence of a significant federal impact during the years 1921-1926.

There were three pronounced factors which made the development of Alberta's farm movement unique throughout the country. One factor already touched upon was the kind of personal leadership given to the movement by Henry Wise Wood of Carstairs. For sixteen years Wood directed the destiny of the U.F.A. and impressed upon the membership his own anti-partisan, co-operative ideals. To understand Wood, and his contribution, one must be aware of the great esteem held for him within the membership of the movement. Perhaps Susan M. Gunn, outstanding and prominent leader of the Women's Auxiliary, said it best: "No other farm leader has had, nor I think will ever have, the aura of greatness that accompanied this great personality."[21] Because of Wood's leadership other men and women in Alberta, and throughout Canada, were motivated to seek positions of leadership in order to more effectively promote the ideology of group government and economic organization. Wood exemplified throughout his long presidency the kind of selfless dedication to purpose that made him so highly respected. He turned his back on ripe political opportunity on more than one occasion. The U.F.A. became his movement, and personified the same goals and objectives throughout Canada.

A second factor accentuating the uniqueness of the U.F.A. was the dominance in Alberta society of a large American-born population involved in agriculture, and settled primarily in the southern section of the province where closeness facilitated an easier communication of ideas.[22] Wood himself was an American, as were many other farmers who rose to positions of prominence within the U.F.A.[23] Coming from the United States, many of these farmers had had the experience of an earlier American populism and agrarianism, and were able to swing their own influence behind H.W. Wood during the period of his presidency. Even those American immigrants who did not assume high positions in the farm movement of the province came with their attitudes which helped determine the over-all mentality of the province's people. James Gray describes this mentality as primarily religious, of a fundamentalist stripe - one that could be stirred by a sense of mission and purpose to a noble cause.

Finally, Alberta, being the last of the prairie provinces settled, faced special kinds of economic problems which persisted throughout the decade of the twenties. H.B. Neatby points out some of these:

> This meant that the debt burden of mortgages was slightly higher; the newer farms had not been paid for. Mortgages were significant because farmers could not meet their payments; they could not even pay off the interest, much less the capital. The insecurity of farmers, whose debts wpre increasing and who had no legal protection against foreclosure, was a potent factor in creating a mood of political desperation.[25]

And although Neatby is describing the conditions during the Great Depression, these factors were there earlier, at work creating fear and sensitivity within the farm population, and causing the farmers to look to co-operative action for protection against outside, hostile forces.

But the S.G.G.A. developed as a typical farm organization after it was founded in Sintaluta, Saskatchewan. This organization became concerned primarily with economic protection and the promotion of scientific agriculture, in order to secure the economic protection of its members and to secure the economic viability of farming. So clearly so, that J.A. Maharg in his presidential address to the organization in 1920, claimed that "the S.G.G.A. was an industrial and commercial organization with men of all political faiths," a statement which would surely have been anathema to Alberta's H.W. Wood.[26] The educational work undertaken was done to improve the capabilities and effectiveness of the farmer and the practice of scientific agriculture, not to indoctrinate any political dogma.[27] One has only to study the career of W.R. Motherwell, a founding leader of the Saskatchewan farm organization, to see the great difference in approach to that of Wood of Alberta. Whereas Wood often neglected his farm duties to promote the cause of the farm movement, Motherwell went on to build one of Saskatchewan's great farm operations. His name has been associated with the early practice of the dry farming technique of summer-fallowing; his grain repeatedly took prizes for its high quality; his efforts led to the establishment of agricultural societies throughout the province; and his participation in the Farmers' Institutes promoted scientific farming in Saskatchewan.[28] In turn, the S.G.G.A. remained largely a group devoted to increasing the skills and vocational understandings of its members. Throughout Motherwell's multifaceted career as farmer, farm leader, and provincial and federal politician his concern for the dignity of agriculture and for scientific farming remained paramount:

> Equally influential, and relevant to all of the above aspects, were the character training, experience, and qualities of leadership which Motherwell brought to the position [of Saskatchewan's Minister of Agriculture, 1905-1918] and which permeated his actions throughout his ministry. His scientific training was expressed in his emphasis on the improvement of methods of cultivation and quality of livestock, the fostering of demonstrations and experiments, and the promotion of agricultural instruction for adults and young people. Coupled therewith was his practical experience as a pioneer farmer and the continued operation of Lanark Place during his term of office.[29]

When there were grass root stirrings afoot in the early 1920's to bring the S.G.G.A. into political action, the leaders were able to avoid such a course. No other Canadian province had such a close liaison between its dominant political parties and the farm movement.[30]

> Though they operated a formidable machine, and though in their administration they retreated in no important respect from the British model, the Liberals did their best to portray their government as a committee of delegates performing as the legislative arm of the farmers' organ-

> ization – as a true "farmers government." They were good at playing out the role, and indeed circumstances never permitted them to consider any other: the Premier's annual appearance before the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association to report on his stewardship was more than a conscientious gesture. The farmers insisted on a government that was responsive and accountable....[31]

Leader after leader within the S.G.G.A. went on to high position, provincially and federally, as a result of splendid service to Liberalism.[32] W.R. Motherwell became Minister of Agriculture for Saskatchewan in 1905-1918, and for Canada in 1921-1930; George Langley, with a British background of Cobdenite and Fabian activity, served in the provincial Liberal cabinet; Charles Dunning, vice-president of the S.G.G.A. in 1911 at twenty-six years of age, became premier of Saskatchewan in 1922-1926, and later federal Minister of Railways and Canals. And while in Ottawa Dunning served the Liberal party well: "In the election of that year [1926] he delivered his province to the federal Liberals..."[33] The long term president of the S.G.G.A. and federal Member of Parliament from 1917, J.A. Maharg, aided Liberalism by entering the provincial Liberal cabinet briefly in 1921, just before the provincial election was called, once again frustrating attempts of the political activists to force the farmers into politics. The year following, when considerable convention support was building towards political action, this time backed by the respected secretary J.B. Musselman, and now Liberal dissidents J.A. Maharg and George Langley, room was made at the executive level of the Government-backed Co-operative Elevator Company to absorb these men and once again quiet the waters.[34] Simultaneously, Charles Dunning, a past vice-president of the S.G.G.A. and General Manager of the Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Company, replaced the prominent Regina lawyer W.M. Martin as premier of the province, becoming truly farmer premier of the "farmers' party" of Saskatchewan.

It appeared to the more radical farmers within the S.G.G.A. that their organization could not escape its destiny as continuing handmaiden to the provincial Liberal Party,[35] and their frustration in not being able to move the S.G.G.A. into an independent political stance forced the formation, in 1922, of a competing farm organization in the province, The Farmers' Union of Canada, with Louis P. McNamee, a former trade-unionist, as Chairman.[36] The S.G.G.A. stirred itself to challenge this competing organization which was attempting to win over the loyalty of Saskatchewan farmers.

> The S.G.G.A. early recognized the dangers of the Farmers' Union and began in 1922 to seek to limit its appeal by ridicule and invective. But this approach had no noticeable impact upon the union's growth. With every year its views on politics, on membership, and on organization received greater exposure at the S.G.G.A. meetings. In a period of economic unrest and depressed wheat prices, the union's appeal to unity struck a sympathetic chord among the farmers. The S.G.G.A. came increasingly to be looked upon as 'decadent' and unresponsive to 'real' farmers' needs.[37]

The Farmers' Union, in its statement of aims, did not form itself as a political party but rather threw its moral support behind T.A. Crerar's Progressive Party:

> The Farmers' Union is purely in politics, in every way in which legislation effects its members; not to create any new party or platform, but to co-ordinate and consolidate the Farmers' political strength in support of the Progressive Party.[38]

Once organized, the radical Farmers' Union undertook to obtain control of all main farm produce, to regulate and obtain reasonable prices above cost of production, and also to protect the farmers' interests by the support and strength of their own organization.[39] To obtain this protection, the Farmers' Union began the drive to organize the farmers into a provincial Wheat Pool, following the signing-up of Alberta farmers the previous year, 1923. The success of their efforts brought the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool into being in 1924. The drive for the Wheat Pool had won the co-operation of the older S.G.G.A., and was one impetus which led to the amalgamation of the two farm organizations in 1926. A second was the emergence of a rejuvenated Provincial-Federal Progressive Party, antagonistic to Liberalism, following a severe Progressive set-back in the 1925 Federal election.[40] The amalgamation proceedings were harsh and extremely difficult at times, but the desire to restore the strength of Saskatchewan's organized farmers finally won out over the vested interests of the two existing organizations.

By 1929 the more radical farmers had gained control of the U.F.C. and George Williams, left-wing activist, had won the presidency.[41] George F. Edwards, last president of the S.G.G.A., who had brought his organization into the amalgamation, had resigned in disgust from the U.F.C. executive. The U.F.C. demonstrated its radical stance by withdrawing from the Canadian Council of Agriculture, since 1909 the powerful co-ordinating body of Canadian farm organizations; and from the Provincial Progressive Party which had at least tacitly supported Anderson's Conservatives in the 1929 Election.[42] Thus, well before the end of the decade, the S.G.G.A. described by Castell Hopkins at the commencement of the decade as "one of the most important social and political influences in Western Canada "[43] had disappeared with scarcely a whimper. And the anti-climax, of course, was 1929: then, the Liberal Party of Saskatchewan,[44] once the political vehicle of the S.G.G.A., fell from office in the general election of that year.[45]

Except in Alberta where the leadership of the farm movement attempted to build a sustaining ideological position, political careers in the farmers' associations were brief. And even in Alberta where the U.F.A. continued for fourteen years to form the government of the province, the farmer support for the non-political wing of the movement continued to drop, and total membership in the organization fell.[46] Following upon their total electoral defeat in the provincial election of 1935, the U.F.A. decided to withdraw from politics, though still giving moral support and the hearts of its leaders to the fledgling Co-operative

Commonwealth Federation. The organization has carried on its economic and educational activities, with an occasional change of name, up to the present time.

CHAPTER III

THE FARMERS' EDUCATIONAL COMMITMENT

Importance of Education

The impact of unfavorable economic, political and social circumstances upon the prairie farmers was sufficient to precipitate organizational activity designed to bring redress to existing grievances, and to enhance the rapidly deteriorating quality of farm life. The farm organizations were seen by many as the way to restore the attractiveness of rural living. Survival, even success, in farming were within reach if these organizations functioned according to plan and design. Primarily economic organizations, they were founded to struggle for the material betterment of the prairie farmer. From the outset an interest in and commitment to the education of all members, and the public at large, was evident. Many of the agrarians of the day realized that it was through the vehicles of education and organizational strength that they and subsequent generations would find sustenance and happiness on the land.

The rhetoric and literature of the farm organizations was replete with statements stressing the importance of education in the farm movement. At the founding convention of the U.F.A. in 1909 it was observed that "the primary purpose of the new organization was to educate in collective action, a knowledge of their legal and political rights, and an appreciation of their calling."[1] Thirteen years later this same organization rededicated itself in its primary duty to its members. The convention of 1922 stated: "We aim to develop through the study of economic problems an intelligent, responsible citizenship....Thus, organized citizenship becomes the vehicle not only of intelligent voting, but also of the intelligent guidance of elected representatives."[2] It was not only the Alberta organization which placed such a high value on education. Individual leaders of the other farm groups across Canada spoke or wrote about the importance of the educational work done by the agrarian movement. The prominent Ontario agrarian leader W.C. Good wrote:

> Educationally, the purpose of the Farmers' Movement is most definite and vital....The perfection of the individual life is, indeed, the purpose of all our institutions, and there is an essential reciprocity between the development of the individual and the growth of social institutions.[3]

In writing of the history of the Ontario agrarian movement up to 1921, M.H. Staples, educational secretary of the United Farmers of Ontario, declared in his Challenge of Agriculture:

> [The U.F.O. was] an organization whose aim was to provide the farmers of Ontario with means for self-education, not only in matters pertaining to the business of production, as other societies had done, but also along broad lines of citizenship, the study of public questions....[4]

Another respected Ontario agrarian leader, the Member of Parliament and outspoken feminist, Miss Agnes Macphail, pointed out the goal of these efforts to educate the farm population:

> The construction of a new social order has a better chance of being worked out by agriculturalists than by any other group in Canada ....I think it is not too much to say that the future of Canada, rests almost, though not quite wholly, in the hands of the agriculturalists of the Dominion.[5]

The esteemed agrarian leader, Saskatchewan's E.A. Partridge, in promoting the formation of a grain company, had an educational objective uppermost in his mind. Such an organization "would enable shareholders to gain an insight into, and a valuable knowledge of, the whole grain "business."[6] This same Partridge, called by Lipset the "foremost exponent of education in the movement,"[7] became the first editor of the Grain Growers' Guide, the oldest and perhaps the most effective instrument of education and indoctrination in all of the grain growers' movement.

A contemporary Manitoba farm leader, the Reverend R.C. Henders, president of the Manitoba Grain Growers' Association, spoke of the necessity for education in his address to his organization's Annual Convention:

> ...we feel that the work of our associations is educational and legislative in its character. Democratic rule requires that the average citizen be an active, instructed and intelligent ruler of his country and therefore the success of democracy depends upon the education of the people along two principal lines - first, political knowledge; second...political morality. Ideal government is found when we have righteous rulers governing a people of character and intelligence.[8]

An outspoken farmer, Member of Parliament, and Ginger Group agrarian in the Federal parliament, E.J.

Garland, wrote to his fellow farmers:

> Organize on any basis that you are able, but organize. Study your social, economic and political questions collectively and, having crystallized your deliberations into conclusions, we will find common ground for co-operation and so through intelligently collective action make it possible for the people of Canada to rule themselves by reason....[9]

Scholars and journalists who have studied the agrarian movement, usually in its political manifestations, have also drawn attention to the emphasis placed upon education. Harold Patton writes this of the agrarian associations:

> The function of the associations, organized on an occupational basis, were essentially protective and educational, aiming at the securing of legislation regarded as in the interests of grain growers, the promotion of cooperative enterprises, and the development of community social life.[10]

W.L. Morton, describing the birth of the Grain Growers in Saskatchewan and United Farmers in Alberta, writes concerning the aim of these associations:

> The primary purpose of the new organizations was to educate their members in collective action, a knowledge of their legal and political rights, and an appreciation of the dignity of their calling. The organized farmer began with a deep conviction that the root of the farmer's plight was his individualism, his isolation, and his ignorance of matters outside his narrow practical experience. They sought to arouse class-consciousness in the farmer, not because they wished to create an army for class war, but because they saw in class-consciousness the beginning of well-being and self-respect. The educational work of indoctrination and the dissemination of information was carried on in the local associations [and], in the annual conventions of delegates of the territorial and provincial locals....[11]

Paul Sharp in his classic study of the agrarian movement on the prairies points out the priority given to education by the farmers:

> Education was the chief emphasis of the grain growers' associations. By education they really meant indoctrination, and in this they were completely successful.[12]

In the same book Sharp claims that with the aid of the Grain Growers' Guide the different grain growers' associations "performed in Western Canada a great feat of indoctrination."[13] Another scholar, C.B. Macpherson, describes the work of the farmer association locals:

> The life of the U.F.A. was largely the activities of the locals, established by the initiative of the farmers and farm women in each neighbourhood to be centres of community life. In the locals, with the help of a small central organization, the farm population provided for itself the recreation and the technical and cultural education wanted.[14]

According to A.S. Morton, "the Grain Growers' Associations remained organizations for education and agitation," and in spite of their successful entry into the grain marketing trade, they were foremost "a training ground for statesmen like Motherwell, Dunning and Crerar, worthy of voicing the sentiments of the West...."[15]

Education was not conceived as just schooling by these farm leaders, but instead embodied any activity designed to teach, indoctrinate, influence and change the rural population into thoughtful, articulate and reform minded citizens. In effect their concept of education was similar to that employed by Lower, who defines education as the "effort to preserve and perpetuate the way of life which seems good to the people following it."[16] For example, Alberta's H.W. Wood thought that even an act as basic as a small group of people meeting together to solve some local problem was educational in nature.

Although the meaning attached to education was broader than implied by the concept of schooling, the farm leaders, especially those associated with the women's organizations and the various education committees, paid considerable attention to the condition of rural schooling. These farm leaders were astute in their recognition that their purpose should be to supplement, complement, and strengthen existing educational provisions and facilities rather than to duplicate them. As a result, we see considerable attention being paid to the improvement of schooling by farm leaders. As well, we notice that farmers were eager and willing to take advantage of educational services being offered to them by existing agencies.

Many farm leaders were at the forefront of the reform movement in Canadian education during the period. The rural school served as a vivid reminder to many of the farmers of the inequities in Canadian society. The rural sector appeared to be at a disadvantage politically and economically, and it was evident that the rural schools could not offer the same fare as urban schools. It is important, then, in considering educational interests and activities, to examine the farm leaders' approach to schooling. This was centrally related to the more encompassing educational endeavors of the farm organizations. Such a study offers the opportunity of seeing how these organizations related to existing provisions, in addition to examining what they created and developed as complementary and supplementary educational undertakings.

Hence, we can see that the educational activities of farm leaders were both formal and informal. These activities were being encouraged and engaged in at all levels of the organizations.

Agrarian Education and the Co-operative Tradition

The emphasis placed upon education by the farm leaders and organizations was not unique to the farm movement. In fact the older European Co-operative movement had anticipated this emphasis in its own development. The co-operative and working men's movements in mid-nineteenth century Britain, the immediate post-Confederation labor and agrarian movements in Canada, with relatively few exceptions, included an important educational component within the sphere of their objectives. They saw their educational mission either in very narrow, practical and economic terms, or within a broad, liberalizing context. The English scholar G.D.H. Cole identified three different forms that British co-operative associations took, similar to elements within the Canadian agrarian movement.[17] One type contained those groups which were primarily educational and propagandist bodies. This branch of the co-operative movement was dedicated to bringing about a new social order through education. Another group of co-operators busied themselves setting up stores and shops, and saw education as the means to achieving economic success with their financial ventures. Finally, after 1830, the producer co-operatives dominated, especially since many trades' union men moved into the field of co-operation. Producer co-operation was practical: it did not look ahead to the new co-operative commonwealth as much as it attempted to better the economic conditions of its members in the immediate world. The co-operative movement in the Americas manifested similar attitudes towards the necessity and value of education.

In Britain, the founders of the early co-operative movement, before 1800, were conscious of the importance of education, but they saw education more specifically as training, and rarely stated their intention to use education to cause significant social change. It was Robert Owen who first promoted education as the means to bring about social and political reformation through the co-operative commonwealth. During the 1830's his followers founded educational organizations throughout Britain to propagate the co-operative message, and after 1839 founded the Halls of Science, institutions providing formal liberal schooling to the factory workers.

In 1844 the so-called "Pioneers" established the famous Rochdale Co-operative Association. The twenty-eight men who built Rochdale were experienced, practical working men. They founded what was the beginning of the "store movement" among co-operators within Britain. Co-operative stores sprang up throughout the country, especially in those districts most adversely affected by the Industrial Revolution. And practical as the Pioneers were, they carried over into this second phase of co-operation their belief in education. After 1853 the Pioneers of Co-operation set aside two and one half per cent of the society's surplus, and designated these funds for the promotion of education. A school for children was operated on the Rochdale store premises, and a library and reading room provided. By 1860 an adult education program was in full operation.

Thus, by the end of the nineteenth century the British co-operative movement concentrated on the economic welfare of its members with a practical, vocational emphasis in its educational goals. Many of the British immigrants who came to the new world were from this reformist, co-operative tradition. They brought to their adopted homeland their zeal for social reform through education.

In North America, the post-confederation workers' movement also stressed the importance of education.[18] The Knights of Labor, an American group which entered Canada in 1881 and spread rapidly thereafter, advocated a shorter work day to allow workers time for educational pursuits. But the Knights of Labour had little opportunity to realize any significant educational impact, for by 1892 the organization had been torn apart by political dissension. Later union groups did not give such high priority to education.

Among early Canadian agrarian organizations the National Grange was unique in its serious commitment to education. The Grange, or Patrons of Husbandry, 1874-1890, spread to Canada seven years after Confederation. Here their emphasis on education remained high, with a special concern for a humanistic as well as vocational education. Those agrarian organizations which immediately followed and replaced the Grange, like the politically activist Patrons of Industry, did not hold education in such high esteem.[19] The American Society of Equity, founded in Indianapolis in 1902, was very clear about its objectives. Indeed, it noted that "the order was primarily to contribute to the farmers' profits."[20]

Contemporary to the Society of Equity, the Non-Partisan League was a politically aggressive farm organization. Founded in 1925, this class-conscious and radical organization, which advocated electoral reform, spread quickly northward into the Canadian prairies. The large American-born farm element in Alberta was responsive to the literature of this organization. The League concentrated on mass indoctrination, and kept its educational efforts within the sphere of mass meetings, newspapers and tracts. Another of the early Twentieth Century farm organizations was the

Farmers' Union, founded in Texas in 1902. By the 1920's the Union had appeared in Saskatchewan, challenged decisively the once powerful Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association, and forced the S.G.G.A. into an amalgamation in 1926. The Farmers' Union placed stress on education, but it was not the broader, humanistic approach taken by the earlier Grange. In its statement of purpose, the Union determined "to educate the agricultural classes in scientific farming," and to "teach farmers the classification of crops, domestic economy and process of marketing."[21]

What emerges from this survey of the co-operative and agrarian traditions is the dichotomy that evolved concerning educational objectives. On the one hand there was a humanistic, liberal and reformist set of objectives; on the other, a concern for a practical and vocational approach to education. The same dichotomy is noticeable as one compares the evolving educational objectives of the two prairie agrarian groups being studied in this thesis.

Educational Aims and Objectives

The U.F.A. and the S.G.G.A. had made commitments to the education of their membership. Each organization saw the educational task differently from its counterpart, although the differences which existed were more the result of organizational leadership than stated purpose. The educational work of the S.G.G.A. was less complicated than that of the Alberta organization. Setting forth the organization's objectives in its Constitution, the S.G.G.A. made no direct reference to educational work as such, though the need for educational support undergirded the fulfilment of the three-fold arm:

> (a) To forward the interests of the grain growers in every honorable and legitimate way.
> (b) To watch legislation relating to the grain growers' interests, particularly that affecting the marketing, grading and transportation of their grain.
> (c) To suggest to parliament...the passing of any new legislation to meet changing conditions and requirements.[22]

It is apparent that the initial concerns of the S.G.G.A. centered around the business, legal and political interests of the farmers of Saskatchewan, with economic well-being serving educational activity as its end. Although the Social Gospel of the 1920's existed in Saskatchewan, the reformist doctrines held by its exponents made no effective inroads into the S.G.G.A. establishment. It is significant that of the two founders of the S.G.G.A., E.A. Partridge, the idealist, and W.R. Motherwell, the practical, successful businessman-farmer, it was the latter who stamped his own pragmatic values on the fledgling Saskatchewan organization. Thereafter, the leadership of the S.G.G.A. remained in the hands of astute administrators like Motherwell, men who were politically ambitious and financially successful in their several careers.

Thus from its inception the S.G.G.A. was primarily an economic organization, and any educational activities undertaken were with the purpose of increasing the vocational skills of the members of the Association. W.R. Motherwell, as farm leader and provincial Minister of Agriculture, actively promoted scientific farming. During 1907, for example, Motherwell's Department of Agriculture sponsored, with the encouragement of the S.G.G.A., seventy-four farmer institute meetings; between 1905 and 1918 seventy bulletins and special publications were issued; in 1906 two innovations in agricultural instruction were the Travelling Diary and the Special Seed Train. By 1914, Motherwell's Department had organized a Better Farming Train which was visited by nearly 40,000 people throughout Saskatchewan during 1915. Another innovation, initiated in 1909, was the Good Farming Competition. Here the purpose was to determine the best all-round agriculturalist in a district. And to work at the upgrading of agriculture all across the province, Motherwell instituted a system of district agriculturalists.[23] The initiative for agricultural education, during these early provincial years, was definitely with Motherwell, the politician, and the Liberal Government. The farmers' association co-operated because it too valued scientific farming.

The S.G.G.A.'s simple educational objective was complicated during and after World War I. As a result of the conscription issue during the War, there were serious economic and political difficulties. The intensity of reform ideas abroad after 1919, radiating out from strike-bound Winnipeg, surely made an impression upon the agrarians.

The agitation promoted by an aggressive labor movement throughout the country also challenged the stable, successful organization, the S.G.G.A., to participate in the progressive tide sweeping the West. Thus by the beginning of the 1920's, secondary leaders within the S.G.G.A. were restive while serving under men and women who saw their organization's goals only within a narrow, economic frame of reference.

Before the powerful S.G.G.A. fell apart in mid-decade, there were, at various levels within the organization, secondary leaders who were actively working for various reformist causes. Mrs. Annie Hollis, for one, was advocating reforms for rural schooling. Another, George Edwards, was agitating for political action by the organization. Now a new emphasis in the organization's educational program was necessary in order to arouse the membership in support of such a reformist stance. But it was too late, for by 1923 the rival Farmers' Union had gained enough support for its own clearly reformist objectives to challenge the viability of its older rival.

During its existence, therefore, the S.G.G.A. remained constant concerning its educational purposes and activities. Some attempt was made to broaden the objectives, but the leadership of the S.G.G.A. held the Saskatchewan organization to its original commitment.[24]

Both the S.G.G.A. and the U.F.A. were part of the broad progressive, reform movement of the post-World War I world. The S.G.G.A. leadership expressed little interest about their part in the reform thrust, whereas the Alberta organization, following H.W. Wood's guidance, was unapologetically in the reform vanguard among farm groups across the country. The intentions of both organizations, nonetheless, were overlaid with economic egocentricity, a common trait of the grass roots membership across the prairies. As well, both organizations were marked by varying degrees of political enthusiasm, since many of the prairie agrarian leaders believed that the core of much of the injustice perpetrated against the farmer was political and legal. And both organizations eventually mustered an assault against an array of immediate injustices, with the condition of rural schooling being an obvious and blatant example. The Alberta association moved more decisively in its attack against the inequities and injustices of the times. As will be demonstrated, this organization was, by design, better prepared than its Saskatchewan counterpart to serve in the vanguard of the progressive reform movement of the 1920's.

H.W. Wood became president of the U.F.A. in 1917, and almost immediately began the task of awakening the farmers of Alberta to the tremendous reform potential of that organization. Rather than concentrating completely on a variety of immediate reform objectives, Wood believed that he saw the Canadian farm movement emerging as a great force to work towards a distant social reconstruction. Year after year in his major addresses to the U.F.A.'s Annual Convention, and in a variety of other speeches given throughout the year, the president continually emphasized that the U.F.A. was a part of the evolutionary movement which would usher in a utopian world of co-operation. Typical of Wood's vision are the following excerpts appearing in various speeches given between 1922 and 1932. His optimism remained undiminished during this important decade.

> Great natural forces, working themselves out in the development of social order, are in the process of throwing up these organized groups, and their manifest destiny is to bring order out of the present trade conditions, and thereby lay the foundations for world peace and social perfection [1922].[25]
>
> We are engaged in social construction, and no amount of radical, extravagant talk, trying to work out some dogma, some orthodox way of making arbitrary adjustments of social or industrial relationships, will avail....Social and industrial regeneration involves a constructive program.... [1927][26]
>
> I am fully convinced that no farmers' organization can live, succeed, and participate in social and industrial reconstruction necessary to avert pending world-wide disaster, without a clear vision of what is involved and a well-defined plan or procedure loyally and intelligently supported. [1932][27]

It is apparent that, in Wood's mind, the U.F.A. was primarily an educational organization. The educational objective was to enlighten the farmers of the prairies so as to raise up a great reform force to deal with the central problem facing man at that point in time: the reconstruction of the social order.

Wood left the important job of educating the grass roots membership within the charge of the secondary leaders, assuming that they would eagerly pursue the goals to which he was committed. Seldom did Wood even attempt to give specific directions to the organization; rather, he encouraged them to proceed as responsible elements within the social crusade. One such directive, given at an address to the Alberta Institute of Co-operation in 1929, was somewhat more pointed than the usual kind of statement made by the president:

> If one U.F.A. Local could establish a purely co-operative community where all community affairs, both social and business, were dealt with in a practical co-operative way, that pioneer Local would be contributing more to right social construction and human welfare, than any individual that has ever lived. If one such unit were developed others would follow.[28]

This statement is essential to understanding Wood's own belief about the directions that social reform action must take. The beginning of growth towards social reconstruction occurred when individuals, and then the small groups constituting the association locals, began working together to solve immediate problems:

> The members of many of our Locals began to deal co-operatively in the solution of smaller and simpler problems. They began to buy some of their necessities co-operatively, and also to sell some of their products co-operatively....Some of their Locals effected a complete reorganization of community social life, especially among young people.[29]

The members at the grass roots level, it would appear, acquired their understanding of co-operative principles as they threw themselves into the work of their local unit:

> [The members] are not wandering aimlessly in an industrial jungle, waiting for a leader to direct their movements. They are already in action, moving in an orderly confident manner in the direction they confidently believe leads to the open lands of industrial freedom. Thirty-six thousand of them are marching in the Wheat Pool ranks; a lesser number in the Livestock Pool. They are active in the Dairy Pool, in the Egg and Poultry Pool, and in various other enterprises.[30]

Wood gave no clear conception to his followers of how to proceed with providing the theoretical base necessary to building a foundation for the reform movement, nor did he enlighten them as to the shape the new world was to take. The U.F.A. under Wood's leadership placed great stress on reform, with primary emphasis on the long range goal of social reconstruction. Nevertheless, the secondary leaders, in the absence of specific directions, were distracted by a myriad of secondary reformist causes crying out for rectification, assuming from Wood's lead that solving small, local problems was the beginning stage of eventual massive reconstruction.

One institution in need of reform in Alberta was the system of rural schooling. The farmers were painfully aware that their children were afforded only second-class privileges under the existing arrangements. Yet the absence of opportunity militated against the important objective of keeping young people associated with farming.

But formal schooling was only one of the concerns of the Alberta organization. For example, when the U.F.W.A.

set up its system of convenorships in 1916, the women established three: Health, Education and Young People. By 1934 these three convenorships had been supplemented by those of Beautification and Horticulture, Peace, Social Welfare, Co-operative Effort, Legislation, Home Economics, Immigration and Political Economy. Each of these convenorships involved the research of related topics and the presentation of findings to the membership of the U.F.W.A., thereby making available to the membership a plethora of information. Each month a pamphlet was issued by the Central Board which concentrated on one of the convenorship topics. The women were obviously interested in a wide array of social concerns, and continued to pass resolutions through their Annual Convention, for they hoped to rectify specific social injustices. The efforts of the U.F.W.A. in the field of health were particularly noteworthy. As early as 1917 the women passed a resolution through their Annual Convention requesting that the provincial government construct a municipal hospital system. The following year the same organization made a request for a public health department for the province. Through the years the Alberta women studied health needs, campaigned for sterilization of the severely mentally retarded, advocated the setting up of rural health units and publicized the dangers of venereal disease.

With the successful entry of the Alberta farm organization into provincial politics in 1921 the reform tasks were further complicated. The obsession with politics added another distraction to the U.F.A. in its supposedly steady progress towards the new day of social reconstruction, for now the organization had to grapple with a whole new series of problems which arose out of a political context. Antecedent agrarian groups and then the U.F.A. itself had been concerned for years about various methods of electoral and political reform. Now the farmers of Alberta had the opportunity to do something to rectify the political injustices which farm leaders had believed were crying out for immediate solution. What proved in fact to be the case was that few of Wood's lieutenants shared his zeal for such a reform doctrine as he had developed, while neither H.W. Wood nor his fellow leaders knew how to teach a doctrine such as his to the farmers of the province. It was not that the grass roots membership was unwilling to learn. With the exception of various agrarian newspapers, and yearly district and provincial conventions, the average farmer and his wife were given little opportunity to learn just what their esteemed leader understood to be the requisites of a reconstructed social order.

The S.G.G.A., on the other hand, made no pretence of crusading for reforms beyond those which met its members immediate, vocational needs. A few leaders within the S.G.G.A. were committed reformers, but the organization itself lacked the decisive, inspired domination of such a zealot as Alberta's Henry Wise Wood. In spite of this important dissimilarity, it is surprising that, at the grass roots level, there were few differences between how the small units of the U.F.A. and the S.G.G.A. went about their business. What the U.F.A. needed, if it was to be true to its president's vision, was an organizer like William Aberhart to launch a massive educational campaign at the very level, the grass roots, which Wood himself believed essential to the perpetuation of the reform ideal.

> I would like to see a real revival of interest in the U.F.A. When I say a "real revival" I mean one based on the solid foundation of a keen realization of responsibility. This, to my mind, is the only kind of revival that will be followed by stability and growth.[31]

But Henry Wise Wood was able to provide his followers with little else than the hope that they would find a way to live up to his expectations of them.

Prairie farmers had much in common, whether members of the S.G.G.A. or the Alberta farm organization. Given such commonality, it is important to consider why the educational emphasis in Saskatchewan was of a practical nature, while in Alberta the goals of the U.F.A. appeared to be both more idealistic and more liberal in scope. The U.F.A. leadership were predisposed to an ideological emphasis. They saw education as a means of initiating their membership, especially the youth, into an all-encompassing world view. President Wood worked out an ideological position which, he believed, contained the seed of the new social order. The secondary leadership of the U.F.A., not always understanding their "chief" but respecting and admiring the man, sustained him in his efforts to teach such a doctrine to the mass movement. At the grass roots level of the U.F.A. membership, it appears that H.W. Wood failed to generate any high degree of enthusiasm for his doctrine. Within three years of Wood's retirement from the presidency of the U.F.A., the Alberta farmers had begun to switch allegiance to other ideologies.

Saskatchewan's farm organization never undertook such a challenging educational mission. The founders of the S.G.G.A. intended that their organization be primarily economic, with education serving as a means of understanding and acquiring economic well being. Under the leadership of men like Motherwell and Partridge the S.G.G.A. achieved significant early success: a more efficient grain marketing system; a journal, The Grain Growers' Guide, to speak for the organized farmers; and the careful attention of both federal and provincial governments. These early victories were not won through ideologies or schemes for educating farm women and children, but through hard-nosed business decisions and political necessities. So it was left to the Alberta organization to be a leader in the things of the spirit: The U.F.A., with a readership of 50,000 by 1928,[32] was the most prominent provincial farm organ in the country; the junior organization in Alberta was stronger in membership, and more active, than its counterparts anywhere in Canada; while the U.F.W.A., in membership significantly smaller than the women of the S.G.G.A., played a much more important role in its respective province.[33]

Obviously the initiative for reform generated by Henry Wise Wood, if unclear as to procedural specifics, stimulated many of the secondary leaders among the men and the women to take seriously their educational work with the Alberta organization. Because of this the U.F.A. remained, in its educational work, in the forefront of all other agrarian groups in the country.

Educational Leadership

If there was one feature relating directly to education, setting the U.F.A. apart from its contemporary farm organizations in the country, it was the educational commitment held by its primary leaders. The history of the Canadian farm movement is marked by the presence of men and women who inspired their agrarian followers by their idealism to participate in the work of their various organizations. W.C. Good of Brantford, Ontario, leader of the Grange and the United Farmers of Ontario, was one. He was a keen student of politics and economics, and was among a select group of men and women who were the fountainhead for the idealists within the farmers' movement. Agnes MacPhail in Ontario, Edmund A. Partridge of Saskatchewan and George Chipman of Manitoba were other leading philosophers of the organized farmers. But it was in Alberta that the reformist wing of the farm movement had its center. And it was from this reformist zeal that the commitment to education sprang.

No farm organization in the country was under the domination of such visionaries as was the U.F.A. Henry Wise Wood, in particular, emphasized the vital part that education played in the reform movement. The serious fashion in which the U.F.A. provided for educational activities was the result of the ideological strength provided by President Wood. H.W. Wood, president of this organization from 1917 to 1932, president of the Canadian Council of Agriculture, 1917 to 1923, and president of the Alberta Wheat Pool from 1933 to 1937, stamped on the movement his own social and political philosophy. Perhaps no other man in the prairie West, with the exception of William Aberhart, has ever been so revered and so followed. Almost single-handedly, H.W. Wood moulded a group of strong-minded individualists into a powerful and united single voice.

Wood's commitment to the belief in the victory of eventual social reconstruction, compelled him to emphasize the importance of grass roots education for the organization. And because of the need to convert his farmers, the educational activities were intended to go beyond those of other contemporary agricultural organizations. In Alberta, at least, learning how to farm scientifically was secondary to "seeking for those things that mean profitable, well-spent lives."[34] This approach to education also reflected the liberal rather than practical emphasis placed on rural education by the University of Alberta. E.A. Corbett writes that," inthe early years of the Extension Department, lectures on a wide variety of subjects, were made available to the province."[35] It was, as well, the framework within which some of the great farm organizations of the past, the Patrons of Husbandry for example, organizations which were familiar to Wood, had established themselves. Finally, an emphasis on humanistic, adult education was the approach taken within the Folk School movement of Scandanavia, one that was admired and emulated in Western Canada. Above all, farmers were to serve actively in bringing into reality a new world of brotherhood and co-operation. Wood was the intellectual and spiritual heir to a long history of utopian thought.

Henry Wise Wood, his wife, and four sons had arrived in Alberta in 1905 looking for untouched (and reasonably priced) farm land. He had already been affected by at least four powerful influences. First, there was his own love for the land and distaste of the industrial order. Second, Wood's religious background influenced him lifelong. He and his family were members of the Campbellites (Disciples of Christ), a church of the social gospel.[36] Wood's own religious beliefs differed extensively from the accepted orthodox views of his time. He was a great admirer of the disciple John. Wood believed that John, like himself, was a social reconstructionist, and that the "Kingdom of God" is not only for the world to come.

A third influence on Henry Wise Wood was his formal schooling, especially his two years of study at Christian College, Canton, Missouri. While there, he came under the influence of professors J.C. Reynolds and B.H. Smith, and to the realization that "no social system based on competition could ever reach perfection. Co-operation was the true social law...."[37]

And finally, there was the failure of American protest movements, mentioned above. These have been four phenonema which no doubt affected the development of Wood's later ideological commitment. Perhaps more than anything else, Henry Wise Wood had "a psychological desire to remain on the soil and keep the sons of the family on farms." He joined his fellow American farmers moving north in what has been called "the last trek," and settled on a section of land near Carstairs. Before long he was involved in the work of the Canadian Society of Equity, a farm organization involved in commercial enterprises. Two years after the farm movements of the province had amalgamated into the U.F.A., Wood joined up. By 1914 he was a district director, and by 1915 was a contestant for the top executive position. He was defeated for the presidency that year by the esteemed James Speakman, who died before the year was out. Wood, having been elected vice-president, assumed the president's position, and at the following convention was confirmed officially as president of the U.F.A., a position he was to maintain for fourteen years.[38]

It was this complex, philosophical man who dominated rural Alberta for nearly two decades. Seemingly devoid of political ambition, he threw his energy into the work of the U.F.A. and a variety of producer co-operatives and farm associations throughout the country. Unlike his contemporary leaders in neighboring Saskatchewan, Wood did not use his leadership position to further his own economic or political interests. He was founding president of the Alberta Wheat Pool and remained in that high office for a decade, all the time drawing only a token salary. Wood was not a successful farmer like Motherwell, nor a successful politician like Dunning. Yet his long, scarcely challenged presidency over the Alberta organization was an indication of the impact that such a man made. His steadfast commitment to the co-operative ideal sustained the impetus for education within the U.F.A. and converted the Alberta organization, for a time, into a significant reform vehicle.

During the years 1920-1930 no other Alberta farm leader spoke with the authority of Wood. Even the most powerful of the other primary leaders acceded to Wood's doctrine rather than oppose him with one of their own. William Irvine was a case in point. Though never a farmer, Irvine supported the various progressive groups and agrarian movement throughout his active years. A Unitarian minister in Calgary, he was better known for his many publishing endeavors, newspapers like The Nutcracker 1916-1917, The Alberta Non-Partisan 1917-1919, and The Western Independent 1919-1920, the latter serving during its existence as official organ for the Alberta farm organization. Irvine was one of the strong supporters of the Non-Partisan League in Alberta, and one of those who urged political action by the fledgling U.F.A. By 1920 he had backed away from his earlier position and in his book published that year, The Farmers in Politics, demonstrated his support of H.W. Wood's political ideals:

> It would appear that the inevitable outcome [of historical development] will be the adoption of a nonpartisan, or group form of government.... it is sufficient to say here that the party system is being pushed out of existence by natural forces, and the challenge to every statesman is to adopt a form of government that will serve our time as effectively as the party system served an earlier, simpler society.[39]

These ideas about non-partisan "group government" expounded before the U.F.A. convention by H.W. Wood, and spread abroad by Irvine, were extensions of the well-developed doctrine of the leader, and further material to be taught to the masses. Irvine's books became important textbooks in this process. In 1929 he published his Co-operative Government. Herein he advocated again the principle of government by representatives of organized economic groups, and added the necessity of facing up to the need for co-operative living in every sphere of life.

Farmers, he claimed, had a responsibility to give leadership in the formation of the coming co-operative commonwealth:

> Organized farmers know that they can constitutionally take political power in Canada if they so desire, but they also know that to do so would not be a creative, progressive action. As a nation, Canada might be as poorly served by an agricultural class as by a financial class government. Conscious of this, the farmers, while having the numerical strength to oust all parties and take power into their own hands, make the constructive and statesmanlike suggestion that governmental power be shared co-operatively.[40]

William Irvine was one leader who helped carry the U.F.A. into the new Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. Most of the other primary leaders made the same transition from Wood's theories of co-operation to North American socialism. E.J. Garland, a left-wing activist within the movement, was another primary leader who successfully made the transition.

Garland, an Alberta farmer and university graduate from Ireland, was one of the more colourful Members of Parliament throughout the decade of the nineteen twenties. He was a forceful speaker in parliament and on the hustings, and wrote widely in journals of his day. In an article in The Canadian Forum Garland was asked to explain the purpose for the farmers being in politics. Throughout the article Garland reiterated Wood's doctrine of economic group government:

> First, [the goal of the farmers is] the establishing of a new political order under which intelligently organized citizenship will undertake to function politically instead of leaving the power

> of the election of candidates, the financing of them, and their ultimate control as members of Parliament in the hands of the few who dominate the political party machines.[41]

Garland also underlined the principles of co-operation, but nevertheless added the socialist emphasis that would eventually overtake the movement. "We have always believed in public utilities,"[42] he wrote, surely to the surprise of President Wood. Generally, though, Garland backed up Henry Wise Wood and saw the same vital need for educating the members in the theories of the movement.

It was in Alberta, within the U.F.A., that the social and political doctrines of Henry Wise Wood received broadest reception and acceptance and made their greatest impact. Surely this accounts for the key emphasis placed by the Alberta farmer group upon education within the movement. Elsewhere the doctrine had some impact, but nothing like in Alberta. In Ontario, for example, the idealistic wing of the United Farmers of Ontario was given consistent and assertive leadership by the movement's secretary J.J. Morrison, by its own theoretician and provincial parliamentarian W.C. Good, and its prominent federal parliamentarian, Miss Agnes MacPhail. Of these three, only the latter made the successful transformation into the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, though all had been outspoken proponents of political reform and the philosophy of co-operation. Good agreed with his colleague H.W. Wood in accenting the need for mass education towards ushering in the new social order. In Alberta, the organized farmers had a program, had leadership and support from the grass roots. It was only natural that a significant educational establishment should be built within the farm movement of the province.

Thus, the U.F.A. under President Wood took up the task of education purposefully. Wood set the example for the membership of the organization. He was a man of broad educational refinement and understanding, and labored to fashion an organization which would provide opportunities for intellectual and spiritual growth throughout rural Western Canada. Ironically, his organization was most successful in the one area he disdained- the political. Such a contrast is surely an indication of the blindness of the man. Yet, his idealism was for many who knew him the enabling virtue of the man.

Under Wood's presidency the U.F.A. established the structure and programs for carrying out this important task. Writing to Mrs. John McNaughton of Saskatchewan, after her request for ideas to improve education in the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association, Wood stated his policy regarding educational leadership within the Alberta movement:

> When a democratic organization is working rightly the individuals in the local are all working together co-operatively in mental development and the carrying on of local affairs, locals in turn are working together in higher units, and so on until the whole organization is embraced.

> There must be a complete sympathetic co-operation between the leadership and the masses, the leadership guiding and instructing and laying down correct principles for the work, but the work itself must be done by the masses.[43]

Just what became of Wood's noble intentions was one of the questions under investigation in this thesis. The structures were built in order to carry through with the task of educating the members into Wood's concept of a higher citizenship. It was at the local level that the system broke down. Wood believed that social reconstruction held promise of a better life for prairie agrarians, but he tended to give less priority to those immediate needs facing the grass roots members, needs which only the farmers themselves knew were vital to their daily lives. Instead Wood set his sights on a long-range, esoteric view of society, and in the process lost his followers along the way.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION AND THE UNITED FARMERS OF ALBERTA

Justification for Educational Emphasis

A.S. Morton, writing of the success of the prairie farm organizations before World War I says of them:

> These great and constructive achievements were the result of the wise decision to eschew politics and confine the aggressive to the domain of business and economics.[1]

In his description of farm movement activities Morton makes no mention of educational endeavors. In most farm organizations, especially before World War I, educational activities were given high priority in the statements of purpose but often less significance in practice, although the various organizations usually had a journal or newspaper to inform and propagandize the membership. The National Grange, for example, an American organization in origin, spread into Ontario in 1874, and held for itself objectives which were far from being completely oriented towards business and economics:

> To develop a better and higher manhood and womanhood among ourselves to enhance the comforts and attractions of our homes and strengthen our attachment to our pursuits; to foster mutual understanding and co-operation....we shall earnestly endeavor to suppress personal, local, sectional and national prejudices, all unhealthy rivalry, all selfish ambition; we shall constantly strive to secure entire harmony, good will, vital brotherhood among ourselves....[2]

The statement begins and ends with high-sounding humanistic ideals. Nevertheless Morton is correct: there were many contemporary farm organizations, most of them short lived, which organized to achieve specific goals or alleviate present difficulties. These groups often disbanded once the objective had been achieved, or merely fell apart from a lack of unity and purpose.[3] But regardless of how the organization behaved, it was seldom that a farm organization did not display prominently its belief in the importance of character development, citizenship, growth and other such educational goals. The Manitoba Grain Growers' Association, organized as early as 1903, after declaring its intention to "defend the legitimate interests of the people on the land," moved directly to declare that it would "promote the self-development of rural community life":

> [Its goal being] to promote independent personal thinking upon the questions of the time, to create public spirit and to quicken the public conscience in regard to evils that persist in our present life in order that so far as possible they may be abolished.[4]

The Canadian Council of Agriculture, founded in 1909 with a view to co-ordinating the work of the various Grain Growers' Associations, spoke clearly on the importance of education:

> [Our first objective will be] to organize the farm population of the Dominion for the study of social and economic problems having a bearing on the happiness and material prosperity of the people; (2) to collect such material from scientific and literary sources, the annals of class movements, and the records of legislative

> enactments in our own and other countries, as are necessary for the proper information of our people, and to disseminate the same....[5]

The major agrarian organizations which played important roles in the social, political and economic life of Canada after World War I all accented the primacy of education in the raison d'etre of their organization. Differences existed among the various groups concerning the aims and objectives of that education, not in its necessity.

The Alberta farm organization boasted a strong organization, from the grass roots level up. It was the policy of the Alberta farm leaders to place primary responsibility for the educational work of the farmers within the local. Guidance from Central Office was offered willingly, but the local leaders were encouraged to formulate their own kinds of programs. This was both a strength and detriment to the United Farmers of Alberta. The Alberta organization's grassroots organization was a model throughout the country. On the other hand, the locals, left to their own devices, failed to carry out the kind of educational study which would have provided Alberta farmers with the philosophical base desired for them by their leaders. The evidence found in convention minutes and newspaper descriptions indicates that in the majority of cases the Alberta local associations established educational programs which were practical and vocational in emphasis.

Educational Pursuits of the United Farmers of Alberta.

The work in education carried on by the United Farmers of Alberta was impressive enough to elicit a positive statement from J. Castell Hopkins in 1922:

> One of its [U.F.A.] most vigorous Departments was the Educational, which aimed to give publicity through the press to the social, economic, educational and political activities of the U.F.A. and to carry on systematic research into subjects concerning members of the organization as farmers and citizens; to make *The U.F.A.* monthly journal an effective organ.[6]

The Educational Department which he praised consisted of an Educational Secretary (the editor) and the staff of the bi-monthly journal, *The U.F.A.*[7] Under W. Norman Smith's guidance as secretary of the department, and editor of the organ, this magazine, or newspaper, since the format was a bit of both, had strong appeal and was read widely throughout the province. It was a sophisticated journal in every way, one to equal Waldron's *The Progressive* and the *Grain Growers' Guide*. In its pages were inspirational essays and addresses by leaders of the movement, surveys of happenings among the men, women and youth, and personal items to appeal to every segment of the farm population, like homemaking hints for the busy farm housewife.

The Education Department, set up in 1921, had the following aims:

> (1) to give publicity through the press to the social, economic, educational and political activities of the United Farmers of Alberta;
> (2) to carry out systematic research into sub-

> jects which concern members of the organization as farmers and citizens; (3) to present the results of this research, in an uncontroversial spirit, for the consideration of the membership.[8]

The latter two aims of the Education Department took on secondary importance almost immediately, for the same year, in Convention, the United Farmers approved the decision to publish a bi-monthly journal, to be known as The U.F.A., functioning under the direction of the Education Secretary as editor. Henry Wise Wood, writing the guest editorial in the journal's first issue, March 1, 1922, indicated the guiding philosophy for the publication:

> The editorial ideal will be the development of higher citizenship through investigation and education. A fuller knowledge of the truth and its bearing on all social problems is the only real road to progress....Truth is the only light that will reveal the way out of present confused darkness.[9]

The president wrote further that to raise social conditions to a higher level would involve education in all the fundamental laws of life. Thus was set the vision for what would become the key to education in the movement. Also in the first edition, President Wood introduced his series dealing with his political ideals, "The Significance of Democratic Group Organization," while the Honorable Irene Parlby added a lighter touch, "The New Legislature, Seen Through A Woman's Eyes." Generally the journal made heavy reading, and its serious sense of mission remained with it throughout its founding decade.

Probably the second most significant educational feature of the United Farmers of Alberta organization was the Annual Convention, held alternatively in Calgary or Edmonton. Here would gather the secondary leaders and grass-roots committee supporters from throughout the province. Although delegates were given token financial support from each local, attendance at the Annual Convention involved a definite sacrifice for the majority of those in attendance. I.V. Macklin, director of the organization in the Peace River Country, made the annual excursion south to meet with the faithful. Besides the important business of working through countless resolutions, reaffirming always their confidence in President Wood, and looking after the usual housekeeping duties, there were the highlights: Mr. Wood's presidential address, reports from their own government's ministers after 1921, and usually a featured speaker. A favorite was Miss Agnes Macphail, the fiery feminist Member of Parliament and United Farmer leader from Ontario. Her address was designed for its inspirational value, and one of her greatest concerns was the education of the country's children, especially the rural children, as she noted on one occasion:

> One of the most difficult problems facing civilization today...is to devise some means of introducing the youth, or a portion of the youth, to stay on the land and to make of agriculture a better calling, giving a higher reward in dollars and cents, a higher standard of living, a satisfactory intellectual life.[10]

Such addresses were featured throughout the four days' activities, and the audiences were large and receptive. During the decade 1920-1930 each Annual Convention attracted well over 1000 delegates, while the figure ran as high as 2000 in 1922.[11] The camaraderie developed among those in attendance surely carried over into the work of the rural locals when the delegates returned home, and served as a yearly rejuvenation for the organization. Below the level of the Annual Convention was the district or constituency convention, comprising several locals of an area. The format of the gathering was parallel to the Annual Convention, with speakers, and the business of the constituency under consideration. In some parts of the province it was almost impossible to hold such conventions at the district level, especially in the later years of economic hardship. Generally the constituency convention met each year, or was intended to meet each year, as a part of the governing structure of the U.F.A.

A third educational activity was the establishing of and the support given to permanent committees to deal with the educational and general affairs of concern to the movement. Whether a committee held as its province the topic of health and welfare, government and legislation, or some such related area, each committee did perform an educational function. The task of each committee was to research questions, provide the accumulated knowledge to the membership, and, when necessary, promote relevant resolutions at the district and provincial convention levels. One committee, the Education Committee, was given the specific responsibility of promoting the education of the general membership, and of addressing itself to the condition of rural schooling within the province.

The Education Committee of the U.F.A. was to meet, plan, prepare and deliver a yearly statement to the Annual Convention, setting forth its recommendations for resolutions to be accepted by the movement. One of the continuing problems of concern to this Committee for many years was rural schooling. Throughout the country before and following World War I there was increasing awareness of the sorry state of the prairie rural schools. Many believed that if young people had to leave the farm to receive a decent kind of schooling, then it was quite impossible to stem the tide of future rural depopulation. The Education Committee of the U.F.A. concentrated on this problem. The farmers were not alone in their concern for the poor condition of rural schools. The Rev. John MacDougall in his study published in 1913, Rural Life in Canada, expressed his concern for the state of country schools:

> Not only is the chief trend of our present mode of education away from the farm, but as compared with the same mode of education in the cities our country schools are inefficient. In the city teaching is made a life vocation; in the country it is made a stepping stone to some other career. The average time spent by our rural teachers in

> this profession is less than four years.... There is a pitiful lack of appreciation of country values. One of these is the beauty of nature; the love of animals is another; the privacy and freedom of life another....[12]

There was, throughout the country during and following World War I, a growing realization that the malfunctioning one-room schools across the prairies were depriving many youth of an opportunity to participate fully in the country's future. In response to the obvious need, the Government of Saskatchewan took steps to stimulate public interest in educational issues, and followed this with legislation in 1917 setting up the now significant Foght Commission. Dr. H.E. Foght published his findings and recommendations in his A Survey of Education in 1918. This document became a guiding light for the social reformers within the agrarian movement. Foght's ideas were discussed and broadcast throughout the prairies. His recommendations on behalf of the community school and the importance of agricultural studies stimulated the Alberta reformers as surely as their Saskatchewan counterparts. Those members of the U.F.A. and the U.F.W.A. with a special interest in education were likely more familiar with the Foght Report. It was these people who served on the organization's education committees.

The Education Committee membership was three, one member being chairman, and one member representing the women's arm, the U.F.W.A. The Committee seldom functioned as intended, since distance and farm work kept most farmers from long-distance travelling except at convention time. I.V. Macklin, who chaired the Education Committee throughout most of the decade 1920-1930, lived in Grande Prairie, and because of distance functioned by necessity as a one-man committee. His major concern, as expressed in his report presented faithfully to the U.F.A. Convention, was for the aims of formal education.

> [The aims of education] shall be to develop the highest moral qualities of youth, and give purpose, direction and meaning to modern life which science has made so full of possibilities for good or evil.[13]

Basic to meeting this aim was the need to prepare youth to know and live in a co-operative civilization rather than one that was competitive:

> Your Educational Committee would therefore recommend that in the public and high school curriculum of this Province there should be some studies whose definite aim shall be to develop the highest moral qualities of youth....[14]

Mr. Macklin on behalf of his Committee urged, without success, that the U.F.A. Government establish a system of folk schools throughout the province in order to build the moral character of the youth, and to fill them with an appreciation of and a love for the agrarian way of life.

> We recommend also that into our regular educational courses there may be infused, wherever possible, something that will tend to develop in our students a mind that will look out on its fellows with the thought of mutual helpfulness rather than with the thought of exploitation.[15]

Thus he suggested that:

> ...immediate steps be taken to prepare or secure text books on co-operation for public, high and normal schools in this Province.... [and] the co-operative philosophy be also embodied in other subjects of our educational courses wherein such procedure is possible.[16]

The U.F.A. Educational Committee also focused attention on educational means. The Committee recommended, time and time again, the lowering of such fees as those for examinations, for correspondence courses, and for attendance at normal school. The Committee, as well, fought to reduce the scope of the high school curriculum so that more youth might obtain a high school diploma. Looking at post-secondary schooling, Mr. Macklin and his committee worked to have the foreign language requirement for the B.A. made optional. These kinds of recommendations were in keeping with the committee's beliefs in removing the elitist nature of formal schooling and in broadening educational opportunity. Gradually many of these specific changes came about, although the farmers' own government was no more willing to forge radical changes in education than other contemporary governments.

The Education Committee of the U.F.A. served as a vehicle through which I.V. Macklin could promote his own ideas about the new social order. A baccalaureate graduate with honors from Victoria College in Toronto, with studies in philosophy and classics, Macklin needed such an outlet for his capable mind and limitless energy, though he always had time for his expanding farm operation in Northern Alberta. The committee structure of the farm organization served that purpose.[17] And although his resolutions, which often received the endorsement of the Convention, were seldom carried through to changes in government policy, they helped to affect the thinking of his peers within the organization. Often frustrated by his brother farmers' lack of concern for those education issues of concern to him, Mr. Macklin presented his resolutions before the women to obtain endorsement there and the support which would give him the necessary weight for the senior meeting. Usually he won the support of the U.F.W.A., for their interest in improving rural schooling was comparable to his; but seldom was he able to win the support of the senior organization.

Another instrument utilized in the education of the farmer and his family was "U.F.A. Sunday." U.F.A. Sunday was instituted early in the history of the Alberta organization and was observed on a Sunday in June, usually by community church services or at open-air rallies. On this occasion the leaders of the farm movement had further opportunity to clarify and explain the ideals which justified their agrarian work. Church pastors in rural areas often related their morning messages to the farmers' day theme, such as the Reverend Larke in a rural Alberta parish:

> It has been interesting during my studies to discover how the aims of the U.F.A. organization can be linked up with the practical aspects of Christian teaching; to discover that the organization through its program provides wide scope for the development of those principles of character which are essentially Christian. Behind all the aims which seek directly to advance the interests of the members of the organization socially, economically and politically, there lie principles which seek to elevate the moral life of the individual and the community.[18]

"U.F.A. Sunday" provided those pastors who adhered to the Christian Social Gospel full reign in giving the Church's endorsement to the agrarians. The Canadian farm organizations derived considerable strength because of the leadership and support given by clerics. In both Saskatchewan and Alberta there were Christian clerics who gave open support to the farm movement. Alberta's William Irvine, for example, edited a variety of short-lived reformist newspapers and by 1920 was directly involved in the federal Progressive Party. The major reformist thrust of the Social Gospel, though, had its source in Winnipeg. Here, Bland, Irvine and Woodsworth were the fountainhead of the Social Gospel ideas which eventually permeated the prairies.

As well, to ensure that the locals had something inspirational to offer the membership on such a fitting occasion, The U.F.A. printed copies of appropriate speeches and essays for use. Not surprisingly, these items included presentations of H.W. Wood. Frequently the President attempted to clarify the relationship between Christian teachings and his ideas on social regeneration:

> From the teaching of individual regeneration Christ passed on to the teaching of social regeneration....The call to repentance was a call to man to turn away from the dominion of the animal spirit that had led him into the bondage and darkness of barbarism - the world, and to turn to the true social spirit that would eventually lead him into the light and liberty of true civilization - the Kingdom.[20]

Finally, after the formation of the Alberta Wheat Pool in 1923, also under the chairmanship of H.W. Wood, there was a joint effort made to increase the effectiveness of the education for this Co-operative's membership. Only three years after the Wheat Pool in Alberta was organized the executive created an Educational Department, administered by L. Cairns, L.D. Nesbitt and Adam Babuik, the latter appointed to work among the Ukrainian farmers.[21] Surely the most important early work done by this Department was the establishment of the Alberta Institute of Co-operation, a week-long free course for farm men and women in the principles of co-operation. Financed by the Wheat Board's trust fund, in co-operation with the Department of Agriculture and the University's Extension Department, this was a week of intensive studies directed by highly qualified guest lecturers.

The initial Co-operative Institute opened June 25, 1928 on the campus of the University of Alberta.[22] Prominent guests made up the roster of invited lecturers: Professor C.R. Fay, University of Toronto, long a powerful advocate of the co-operative movement; C.G. Randall, United States Department of Agriculture; Professor

Erdman from the University of California; Professor Drummond of Harvard University; and Alberta's own Henry E. Spencer, fiery Ginger-group Member of Parliament.

The costs were minimal. For young men and women between the ages of 17 and 21 the courses were free. In spite of the awesome array of speakers, the promotion article for the Institute in The U.F.A. promised its readers that the experience would be relevant and valuable for them:

> Farmers, Farm Women and Farm Young People who may be considering the possibility of attending the sessions of the Alberta Institute...may be assured that the proceedings will be eminently practical, in no sense "high-brow", and very closely related to the everyday problems with which they themselves come in contact....and the addresses given ...will be of such a nature that every person engaged in agriculture or interested in co-operation in this Province can profit by attending.[23]

Although the Institute of Co-operation was not a direct outcome of the work of the U.F.A. it was nonetheless the result of the efforts of the farm leaders on a broad front, especially so for Henry Wise Wood, president of both organizations. The formation of the Alberta Wheat Pool in 1923, and other co-operative marketing associations, opened up the vistas for a much greater program of education for the farm population, the Institute described above being one example. To co-ordinate the educational activities, an Alberta Co-operative Council was formed in 1929, following eighteen months of planning and preparation. The Council was comprised of three members from the U.F.A., a representative from each Pool Association and Co-operative Wholesale, and a trustee from the Wheat Surplus Fund Board. With the co-operation of the provincial government, the committee formulated some ambitious goals. Unfortunately the intensity of the depression in the 1930's limited drastically the possible realization of these objectives. The goals included:

> (1) The possibilities of co-operative educational courses in all Provincial Schools. (2) Organization of schools or training classes to deal with various technical requirements of co-operative organizations. (3) Best methods of bringing co-operative education to our young men and women on the farms. (4) Publicity media to disseminate co-operative principles. (5) Possibilities of development of Rural Co-operative credit.[24]

This array of educational activity was of little value if the various locals of the organization were not carrying on an active program. President Wood was aware of the need for local involvement:

> My policy toward the locals has been to do everything possible to impress on them their own responsibilities, and the necessity of taking the initiative in all local affairs. A great many of our U.F.A. locals have become thoroughly imbued with this idea and have accepted this responsibility and have made remarkable development.[25]

To carry out Wood's policy the Alberta organization aimed its energies and resources at the building of active local associations. Their efforts sustained the U.F.A. through a severe depression and beyond a stunning electoral defeat.

The U.F.A. Local as an Educational Force

During the decade 1920-1930 the Alberta farm leaders exerted energy in attempting to utilize the vehicle of local U.F.A. organization and to assist the farm population. The strength of the local organization in Alberta was the pride of the entire Canadian farm movement. Norman Lambert, secretary of the Canadian Council of Agriculture, evaluated Alberta's success as due to the policy of decentralization followed there. "Large measures of autonomy in the local Clubs, and an eagerness to see their work succeed," he felt, were more responsible for the success than any philosophic adherence to the group idea.[26]

The secretary of the U.F.A. kept word of developments to the fore with each monthly report of some new local's activity in the pages of the Grain Growers' Guide Thus, part of his entry for January 1919 was:

> Judging by the reports reaching central office, many of our locals are widening the scope of their activities, increasing their cooperative enterprises, building U.F.A. halls, promoting the cause of better education and better living in the community life.[27]

The educational work, as Wood saw it, was a task in teamwork for both leaders and followers, Central Executive and the local:

> It is the people that have to be educated and this education will come only through the efforts of the people themselves. Of course this does not mean that the people will not have to have the guidance and direction of leadership. This is not only essential but vital....The local that realizes its own responsibility in mental and material progress is the local that succeeds.[28]

For Wood, a system of properly functioning local associations was the key to his whole concept of plebiscitary democracy. And to maintain a strong local, education of the membership was indispensable. H.W. Wood constantly urged the local associations to continue the strengthening of their groups in order to ensure the movement's survival:

> Unless the individuals will keep up the Locals, the organization will cease to exist. There is a certain amount of assistance Central can give the Locals, but the amount is limited and costly. The proper function of Central is to take care of the details of the work of the organization as a whole....There are over 12,000 faithful members in the Locals scattered over the Province. They understand the importance of keeping up the strength and growth of the organization. It is their organization. It is also their Central. It is they rather than Central who are interested in the economy and efficiency of carrying on, as well as in the life, growth and vigor of the organization.[29]

In spite of the strong support and encouragement given by central office, maintaining a viable local association was a difficult task, especially through years that were economically lean. If a strong, committed local leader carried the association, considerable success could be attained in keeping programs afloat. The Berrywater Local of the U.F.A. found it beneficial to have joint meetings with the women's association:

> We endeavor to get members to read papers on various subjects, and also to get outside addresses from local men such as bank managers, reeve of municipality....In fact we aim to make our local a living force in the life of the community and of some value to the members.[30]

One of the most popular educational activities for the locals was debating. Perren Baker of the Doondale U.F.A. local wrote:

> Duncan being called away sent his manuscript [re debate on Direct Legislation] - a strange mixture of flashes of insight and fogging of the issue. The next meeting a debate: Resolved that Canada should maintain a navy of her own. I am to lead the negative. A little thought on this question will help to confirm or to destroy my prejudice against naval and military expenditures.[31]

For some locals, organizing a full-fledged debating program was their idea of a successful educational program. The locals of the Vegreville provincial constituency, five U.F.A., one U.F.W.A. and one Junior local, formed a debating league, the object of which was strictly educational. Some of their topics for 1928 were:

> (1) Resolved that Liquor Control is preferable to Prohibition.
> (2) Resolved that the Tractor is preferable to Horses.
> (3) Resolved that Group Government is more efficient than Party Government.[32]

One of the more active locals, Tofield, set down its complete winter program early in the fall. For 1929, a series of eight "educational development" sessions were slated dealing with the topic "What Should Be A Fair Standard of Living on the Farm?" These ran from October 1 through to April 15.[33] In addition, separate meetings were set aside for such business items as the address from the constituency M.L.A., the annual meeting, a meeting to discuss the resolutions slated to go before the Annual Convention, the report to the local from the Convention delegates, and the Wheat Pool Convention meeting for the district.[34]

Admittedly few locals had planned programs so impressive as to warrant laudatory half page space in The U.F.A. The work of this particular local was something of a model, but it does serve to indicate the intensity of the program that could be worked out. Some locals, as might be expected, often got themselves entangled in issues of less than permanent value. Millet U.F.A. local did not always deal with such inconsequential subjects as Mrs. Ross relates:

> There wasn't any organization that I was particularly interested in except the farm organization and the U.F.A. local here. So I went with my brothers to the U.F.A. meetings and I remember one of the most important issues. (Oh, I thought it was very, very funny at the time). There was a tremendous interest in sleighs that would give the same width as cars. Well at that time cars were very, very scarce. I mean only the best people had cars and a lot of the farmers, myself included, could see no reason why we should be compelled to drive horses with sleighs just so that the cars could get in and out. And actually I can't see it yet. They wanted to make it a law and they were going to the government people who had cars. Mostly it was the town people who wanted to get out into the country rather than country people who wanted to get into town, because country people just didn't have cars.[35]

The task was twofold: the function of keeping up the business for the local and the organization, and second, the educational mission. The latter was the most difficult to carry through, in spite of the resources at hand. The Central Office made programs available, written materials which could be used for speeches, various books which the local could borrow, and other printed materials helpful in preparing debates and panel discussions.

An invaluable aid to the educational mission of the U.F.A. was the University of Alberta and its officials. Dr. Henry Marshall Tory, the president of the young University, saw how crucial the problem of rural life was. He organized the University's resources to aid the farm movement in its mission.

> He [Tory] was a great believer in taking the University to the country, and his Extension Department was the means of bringing travelling lectures, lantern slide shows, travelling libraries and films to small towns and rural points....Mr. A.E. Ottewell, Director of the Department was a tower of strength to the organization, as was his successor, Dr. E.A. Corbett.[36]

With such strong support from the University it was easy to believe that Henry Wise Wood's vision of the educated farmer might be accomplished. Unfortunately, circumstances beyond his or his organization's control had already begun to shape a world which would eventually destroy the kind of farm movement that Wood envisioned and tried to build.

The impact made upon rural Alberta by the local associations of the United Farmers of Alberta was recognized long after the farm organization had met its great political setback in 1935.

> Wherever there is an active U.F.A. local you find a more progressive community. The active U.F.A. local acts as an educational center. Farmers attending local meetings and discussing the problems of agriculture receive a great amount of information and are much better

> informed than farmers living in districts where there is no local.[37]

By 1925, in spite of a buoyant provincial economy, the Alberta organization was in trouble. From a membership of nearly 40,000 in the halcyon days of 1921, the figures had dropped to fewer than 15,000.[38] Considerable disenchantment with the U.F.A. provincial administration among some, and new loyalties to the pool marketing agencies for others, had drained the organization of the mass of its support.[39] Reports of active local associations are deceiving when it is realized that the organization was suffering from such a severe membership decline. It was hoped that the new leadership after 1932, and the federation of progressive groups in the decade, would revive the failing movement. Such expectations were not completely met as the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation was inundated by the new Social Credit movement in the province.

Still, this Alberta farm organization made greater impact on the contemporary Canadian scene than any other like it. From top to bottom, the U.F.A. was dedicated to meeting the need for rural uplift and betterment.

Norman F. Priestley, vice-president of the U.F.A. at the time of the great Social Credit landslide in 1935, reaffirmed the importance of education during the dark days of the depression:

> [The U.F.A.] is an organization of farmers of Alberta formed for the purpose of promoting and guarding the interests of farm people, by mutual education, representation before public bodies, the building or co-operatives and the carrying on of business in farm supplies co-operatively.[40]

For the top echelon of the Alberta organization education was a crucial part of their life and work within the U.F.A. Unfortunately, the broad membership of the farmers' association in Alberta failed to respond accordingly.

CHAPTER V

THE UNITED FARM WOMEN OF ALBERTA AND EDUCATION

"Undernourished Fool Women of Alberta"

- anonymous contemporary

The United Farm Women of Alberta: Educational Mission

> In 1912 a journalist on the Grain Growers' Guide, Miss Frances Marion Beynon, vigorously urged farm women, in a series of able articles to organize....[1]

This entry by J. Castell Hopkins marked the stimulus for the beginning of the agrarian women's organizations across the country. The United Farm Women of Alberta, though not the most significant farm women's organization numerically, nevertheless was in the forefront of its sister organizations. Because of their promotion of young people's work within the province, their initiative in fulfilling their own educational objectives, and their leadership among rural people in promoting radical innovations in rural schooling, the organized farm women of Alberta were recognized as leaders within the Canadian farm movement.

In that same article, Hopkins wrote of some of the causes behind the formation of the women's organizations:

> It took time for the Women to grasp the importance and value of organization. Individualistic as the farmer by nature was, his wife was even moreso; women did not at first like or approve of the meetings which took their men from home and kept

> them away for many hours in each week. Gradually, however, as farm conditions slowly improved and conditions grew out of the pioneer stages...as population increased and opportunities and prosperity grew with it, the women came to approve of organization and agitation and co-operation and to believe that all improvements were due to these elements in agricultural growth. Labour saving devices, conservation of health, better rural schools and high education, came to be, in their minds, directly connected with better markets, co-operative buying and selling and better agricultural credit. Back of it all, however, was the desire for social intercourse, the gregarious instinct inherent in women, no matter how isolated or how devoted to home and children.[2]

Saskatchewan women were the first to organize. In 1914 Mrs. John McNaughton of Harris was elected president of the Saskatchewan Women's Grain Growers' Association. The following year the majority of women attending the United Farmers of Alberta Convention met separately and formed the United Farm Women of Alberta. As early as 1913 the U.F.A. Constitution had been amended to admit women into that organization, and each year following women had attended the Convention as voting delegates. By 1915 the women of the movement, under president Miss Jean Reid of Alix, moved to found an organization which would have a significant impact on the senior organization. By 1919 two other organizations of provincial farm women had begun, Manitoba in 1917 and Ontario in 1918. That year the four women's organizations took steps to create the Inter-Provincial Council of Farm Women. Under Saskatchewan's Mrs. McNaughton as president and Mary F. McCallum of Winnipeg, Associate Editor of the Grain Growers' Guide as secretary, the Council took for itself the following objectives:

> (1) To further the objectives of the Canadian Council of Agriculture; (2) to popularize the study of social and economic problems; (3) to deal with Federal and inter-provincial matters specially concerning women and children.[3]

The farm women's organization in Alberta developed as an intregal part of this country-wide movement of Canadian women, and grew out of specific needs of the women living in rural areas.

> The farm women's organization grew primarily out of a pronounced need for some form of social intercourse. The monotony and isolation of farm life, with its consequent restricted opportunities for recreation and development of social services, was the despair of many a thinking farm woman.... In the minds of clear thinking women of rural Alberta, realization was rapidly dawning that the home-loving mother who so carefully tended her little ones was apt to disregard matters outside the home that could affect her child's future life.[4]

In keeping with their intentions, the Alberta women set out the principles to steer them in their development. Some of the aims of the U.F.W.A. were:

> - To assist our members to educate themselves to be the best possible citizens of the community, the nation and the world.
> - To interest them in that which makes for reform in social conditions, particularly those affecting the childhood and youth of our land.
> - To popularize the study of social and economic questions.
> - To develop local taste for literature, music and the finer things of life.[5]

Faithful to their objectives, the U.F.W.A. expended considerable effort in meeting the needs of its own membership and the larger social needs of the rural community as well. The primary reason for the organization's existence was cultural and educational, for the economic and political issues were largely left within the scope of the U.F.A. The average farmer no doubt thought that the farm women were handling the problems and issues of lesser value, but H.W. Wood and other prominent farm leaders relied on the contribution that the women made. The United Farm Women of Alberta, William Irvine wrote,

> ...have helped greatly save the United Farmers' movement from the usual fate of male dominance. The male mind, during the individualistic system of society, went to seed on commercialism; and the human values, such as character, the development of the aesthetic tastes, and the desire for the highest happiness, have been choked out.[6]

When the farm women approached a problem, Irvine maintained, they did so from the point of view of obtaining a fuller view. His expectation for creating a better life through the incubation of the rural home was certainly as enthusiastic as was Pestalozzi's idealization of Gertrude and her home:

> The natural environment of the average rural home is thought to be such as will lead to the highest human development and enjoyment, providing that the advantages of civilization can also be enjoyed.[7]

From the perspective of a half century later, Irvine no doubt was myopic in his understanding of life on the farm, but there is a surfeit of evidence to demonstrate that this idealism was carried into concrete activity by many of the leaders of the farm women. Because of their commitment and aggressiveness, the leaders of the U.F.W.A., as early as 1916, established their committee structure for the study and promotion of education, health and welfare, immigration, youth and related interests. Each of these committees functioned in an educational capacity by doing research, writing and presenting reports to the various district and provincial conventions. These committees also performed the function of spearheading resolutions, related to their area of concern, through the various levels of the organizational structure. It was through the committee structure that the farm women were made more aware of the intensity of various social inequities and malpractices, such as primitive or non-existent health care facilities in many rural areas. And it was from these committees that impetus for social change, using the organization as a pressure group, came about.

That same year, 1916, the women pressed the U.F.A., successfully, to recognize their organization as "an intregal [though separate] part of their organization with equal privileges." However,

> ...this step did not occur as a natural sequence of events or as a part of ordinary procedure, but required a great deal of insistence and patience on the part of our Auxiliary Officials and members, before the U.F.A. realized the necessity of accepting the women's branch [with equality].[8]

Throughout Canada's progressive decade the organized farm women of Alberta played an essential role in the education of their members and the advocacy of innovations for the public school system of the province.

Work of The United Farm Women of Alberta

The organizational structure of the U.F.W.A. paralleled that of the senior organization, with both organizations sharing the Central Office resources. As with the U.F.A. the women's organization depended on the functioning of its locals. Here too support was readily at hand with organizational and program assistance.

The Executive of the U.F.W.A. also fashioned its Annual Convention and local or district conventions to bolster the enthusiasm of the local leaders and increase their awareness and concern. Throughout the 1920's Henry Wise Wood, the Honorable Irene Parlby and other prominent farm and community leaders addressed the women of the movement. Seldom was a convention held without a prominent place given to an address dealing with education and schools. A popular speaker in this regard was the chairman of the Education Committee of the U.F.W.A. She presented annually her findings and recommendations before the assembled women.

The Central Board of the U.F.W.A. performed the usual housekeeping tasks for the entire organization such as recording membership and journal subscriptions, disseminating information about forthcoming events of likely interest and details of organizational affairs, and informing the membership of other items of interest and value to the membership. For them, the effective means of communication was The U.F.A., organ of the Alberta movement. In each issue space was devoted to affairs of the U.F.W.A.

As well, longer, serious articles written by leaders of the U.F.W.A. were featured prominently within the journal. The Honorable Irene Parlby appeared regularly in the pages; Mrs. Leona R. Barritt of Mirror wrote a series of especially provocative articles advocating the reformation of schools.[9] Mrs. Zella Spencer of Edgerton had a regular column dealing with a wide range of topics, but always presenting the "co-operative" viewpoint. In every issue the U.F.W.A. received the equality of content that they had worked for in achieving equality of organizational status. The printing services accessible to the organization were also used to distribute materials needed for the continuing function of the local associations. Such regular bulletins served as resources in the preparation of speech and debate topics for the monthly meeting. One such series of bulletins featured this series of articles for the 1930 meetings:

> "Organization" by Mrs. Amy Warr
> "Co-operative Efforts" by Mrs. Scholefield
> "Beautification and Horticulture" by Mrs. Stang
> "Young People's Work" by Mrs. P.C. Hepburn
> "Immigration" by Mrs. Regina Price
> "Education" by Mrs. Winnifred Ross
> "Social Welfare" by Mrs. Divelle[10]

The writers for the series were executive members or committee heads, and capable of preparing such a series. Locally, the month's paper could be simply read and discussed, or used as research material for other kinds of topics and presentations. This particular kind of leadership was vital to the work of the locals, and one which was accepted seriously by members of the Central Board.

Another service promoted by the Central Board of the U.F.W.A. was the travelling library. The Central Boards of the U.F.A. and U.F.W.A. also encouraged locals to begin building their own permanent libraries by offering books to them at a very nominal charge. The books available were doctrinaire, of course. William Irvine's books were available, M.H. Staples Challenge of Agriculture, George Williams' controversial and soon withdrawn The Land of the Soviets, and similar offerings.[11] Yet many locals found such a project prohibitive, so the services of the University's Extension Department were called on. By 1934 the U.F.A. was in a position to establish its own travelling library, the Frances Bateman Memorial Library,[12] but in the meantime locals were encouraged to use the University's books. Other individuals and organizations in rural areas also used the services of the Extension Department in this manner, but throughout the decade, 1920-1930, the U.F.A., U.F.W.A. and the Junior U.F.A. consistently kept the books circulating throughout the province. Without fail for that period, the U.F.W.A. locals had a higher book loan record than the women of their urban counterpart organization, the Women's Institute. This surely demonstrates the seriousness with which many farm women accepted the principle of self-growth.[13]

The Central Board concerned itself with promoting education for the farm women in every possible way. Through the U.F.W.A.'s involvement with the work of the Juniors it was evident that a very successful facet of the youth program was University Week, a week-long Conference for farm youth held yearly in June, since 1919, on the campus of the University of Alberta.[14] To receive benefit in a similar fashion, the U.F.W.A. Convention of 1929 resolved to initiate a similar kind of retreat for farm women. The Executive responded to the Convention decision and the following year, in October, the first of what would become a successful annual event was initiated:

> The purpose of Farm Women's Week is to give recreation, inspiration for home duties and to broaden the outlook. There will be discussions, lectures, and demonstrations in such subjects as clothing, cooking, home nursing, gardening....[15]

The Farm Women's Week arrangements were under the guidance and subsidy of the Department of Agriculture. The Conference ran for four days for a total individual cost, excepting transportation, of $6.00. To broaden the appeal of the week's sessions, mothers brought along their preschool children at no additional cost. Next to the U.F.W.A. Convention itself, Farm Women's Week was the most significant educational experience for the rural woman, though only a few farm women ever had the time or resources to participate in this activity during that decade.

The program offered to the women during this week was modeled upon that provided for the youth, with emphasis placed on domestic topics and farm management. Also, a hearty sprinkling of social events highlighted the women's conference.

The Local Association

The women of the farm movement displayed a greater concern for educational activities and issues than the majority of their husbands and brothers. Likewise they were interested in strengthening the functioning of their local associations. The Honorable Perren E. Baker, long-time farm leader from Southern Alberta, and for fourteen years Alberta's Minister of Education, helped point out the crucial place of the rural local within the larger organization:

> Every local should be taking steps to arrange a winter's program that will make for a widening of knowledge and a greater development of the abilities of its members. Helpful suggestions for this may be gotten from the central office. Material for debates, reading courses and dramatic performances may be secured from the Extension Department....The U.F.A. is already a powerful educational force though its possibilities have scarcely yet begun to be realized.[16]

The U.F.W.A. accepted this challenge and took steps to organize locals throughout Alberta, and to strengthen the existing locals in their life and work. True to the pattern within the senior organization the greatest membership lay in the southern region of the province. The four constituencies with the highest U.F.W.A. membership were Macleod, Bow River, Lethbridge and Acadia in that order.[17]

The most valuable assistance that was offered to the local was in program planning. Each year the executive drew up a list of topics that could be the basis of a series of meetings, and provided supporting resource materials to allow the locals to carry out a regular pattern of meetings. One such series included 1922 suggested program topics:

> "Sanitation in the Farm Home"
> "How Much Can We Expect From a Teacher"
> "History of the Women's Struggle for the Franchise"
> "Beautification of the Farm Home"
> "Labour Saving Devices in the Farm Home"[18]

Or, an especially active local could prepare its own series of topics and locate its own background materials. Millet Local U.F.W.A. had for itself the following topics for study:

> "Co-operation Between Parent and Teacher"
> "Sketch of the Life of a Famous Canadian Woman"
> "Home Nursing and First Aid"
> "Curing and Canning of Meats"
> "Natural Resources of Alberta"[19]

One study course promoted at the 1927 Annual Convention by Mrs. Susan Gunn, Convenor of Education for the U.F.A., was based upon the pre-school child. Speaking in support of this course available for study by the locals, Mrs. Gunn outlined the various sections that would be looked at: the play problem, kindergarten, the Montessori Method, teaching obedience, teaching industry, good manners and politeness, overcoming childhood faults, fears and fancies, and using stories, pictures and music with the young child. Reference material for the study was made available from Central Office. Following this initial promotion there was no significant follow-up. It is unlikely that such a program attracted wide support.

Other locals concentrated on learning business rules of order, or discussing a series of educational topics as a result of the stimulation from articles run in The U.F.A.; while still others placed a heavier emphasis on social rather than educational items. The U.F.W.A. Executive promoted all of these activities by devoting space in The U.F.A. to their description. For example, the journal used two columns to describe the year's activities of Poplar Lake U.F.W.A. for 1928. A sketch of this local's work for the year gives an indication of the possible work of a representative local. The report was submitted by the secretary of the local and "reveals very plainly the fact that the ladies of Poplar Lake were never at a loss to find means of making the organization in their district of real value to the community."[20]

The meetings were held from January through to December, with the exception of October - harvest time. Members alternated hosting meetings in their homes. In January, at president Mrs. Bentley's home, Mrs. Cavanagh reported on the political convention which she had attended in Edmonton as delegate from Poplar Lake Local. Following this, plans were made to gather clothing and household items to assist a recently burned-out family. In February a special meeting was held, and ladies from the Turnip Lake Local were in attendance. Mrs. Susan Gunn, U.F.W.A. president, was guest speaker and addressed the sixty ladies on the topic of education. The following month Mrs. Whiteford reported back from the U.F.A. and U.F.W.A. Conventions held in Calgary. When she had completed her report, Mrs. Bentley read a paper on cadet training. The April meeting was on the lighter side: poultry raising. Also at this meeting the members voted to help support a junior's attendance at Young Farmer's Week or University Week and a basket social was planned for later in the month, a success, according to the informant. For May, the Dalton plan of Education was scrutinized by the ladies. Mrs. Cavanagh writes that:

> Mrs. Burns gave a splendid paper on the subject. Cuttings from newspapers were also read by members and a very interesting discussion followed for and against the system.21

In May, as well, the local hosted a shower for Mrs. Turney, "who lost her home by fire." The June meeting was a "United Temperance meeting" with an address by the Reverend Mr. Ramsay, special musical numbers, and a silver collection gathered in support of the Alberta Prohibition Association. In July the meeting took the form of a picnic for members and their families, while the August meeting concentrated on the home: a dress cutting demonstration was featured. September's meeting was a light one: "Each member gave a five minute talk on the home of their childhood." During November the women joined the men for a joint U.F.A. meeting on the topic of the Wheat Pool. Finally, the year's activities culminated in December with the election of officers and the appointment of convention delegates, while yet another family was supported with clothing sent from the local. As this resume demonstrates, the women of Poplar Lake were involved in social service and some educational experiences, while the social aspect and a practical approach to education remained prominent throughout. Conspicuous by their absence are the materials and lectures which would further promote their farm leader's own doctrines of total co-operative organization and his principles for political reformation. The leadership of the U.F.W.A. was aware of the absence of doctrinal teaching and individuals spoke to the locals encouraging them to follow the example of the European labor and co-operative movements. Speaking to the Annual Convention in 1923, Mrs. Parlby urged the locals to fulfill their important task:

> There are so many small practical ways in which you might commence this work. For instance, every local might start to build up a small library of co-operative literature, and to make a special study of that one question for the next few years. Every Local might double its contribution to the Junior Conference Fund, and ask that half the amount contributed be set aside for a special scholarship fund....I forget how many Locals we have in the province, but if 500 Locals would each raise annually through an entertainment of some kind just ten dollars for that purpose we would have $5000. to start this co-operative scholarship fund.[22]

Looking back, the work of one small local for a one year period appears insignificant, but for many of the members of this and other rural groups, there was an excitement and expectancy about the work. Mrs. Susan Margaret Gunn, one of the more prominent of the Alberta farm woman leaders, expressed it this way:

> Then the farm men and women of Alberta began to organize into locals and I was caught up in the work of the U.F.A. and the U.F.W.A. It was like a crusade, through co-operative effort we envisaged a new Heaven and a new earth, - co-operative stores were started, municipal hospitals, the great wheat pools - with our neighbors and friends in Saskatchewan and Manitoba. Then along came the devastating thirties and we were flat on our backs. It took us a long and weary time to get on our feet.[23]

Mrs. Gunn's response to Mrs. Parlby's call for an extensive effort is an indication of the kind of enthusiasm, and later discouragement, which was a part of the life of the U.F.W.A. members. Considerable work at the U.F.W.A. local level was started during this decade, like the creation of a system of local libraries. But the membership lacked the vision, and more important the resources, to establish the co-operative scholarship fund which Mrs. Parlby had deemed so important to the organization.

Educational Leadership

The leadership exerted by the U.F.W.A. during the years 1920-1930 was, in part, a result of the committee structure of the organization and, especially, the work of three women who exerted considerable effort in this area on behalf of the Alberta movement. Shortly following its formation, the women's organization took a decisive step:

> In 1916 the first convenorships were established. They included Health, Education, Young People's Work. Existing legislation claimed attention, and another Committee was formed to review our laws, particularly as they affected property and

> civil rights of married women. As a result of demands on the part of the U.F.W.A., endorsed by various other women's organizations, more protective legislation has been placed on the statute books in Alberta.[24]

Education became the key committee. Commonly, a woman would hold the convenorship for Education as training for assuming the top executive post in the association. This is true of two of the three women upon whom this chapter concentrates.

Mrs. Irene Parlby of Alix was a charter member, second provincial president of the United Farm Women of Alberta, and a continuing supporter of the women's farm movement during her career as Alberta's Minister Without Portfolio, 1921-1935. Her energies were directed to the new women's organization for she felt it could meet an intellectual and spiritual need not then filled by the existing provincial women's group, the Alberta Women's Institutes:

> ...their line of work does not interest me very much-there is too much of the housekeeping business about it, and for my part I think the farm women want to be taken out of their housekeeping troubles and made to realize that there are other things of interest in the world....[25]

Married to Walter Parlby, farmer and Oxford M.A., Irene became the Alberta farm movement's strongest spokesman in defence of the agrarian tradition, upholding the dignity and worth of country life at every opportunity. Keeping in mind that a gulf lay between this English gentlewoman's concept of the farm as opposed to that of the average farmer, Mrs. Parlby's contribution was in the uplift she worked to bring to the isolated rural areas of the province.[26] Mrs. Parlby's special concern was rural education, and during the fourteen years of the provincial United Farmers of Alberta government's administration, she, as Minister Without Portfolio, travelled extensively and read widely, searching out new methods to improve a system of schooling in serious disrepair:

> ...where, it seems to me we go wrong in the first place, in our ideas about education, is in thinking of it as something to be procured during certain definite years in the schools; whereas, it is really a life process...[for the] fullest development of the potentialities, physical, mental, moral, and spiritual, of the human being. The function of that school is to thereby assist that development in every possible manner.[27]

Being an educated woman herself, Mrs. Parlby wanted to ensure that the rural youth of the province would receive an education equal to their city counterparts. Being a firm believer in the value of farm life, Mrs. Parlby held that rural education must be unique to the life of farm boys and girls.

> The school must link itself up with life in a way which up to the present it has not been doing; it must link itself up with life and environment of the child outside the school.[28]

It was Mrs. Parlby's special concern for the rural youth which led her to investigate the Folk School Movement in Scandinavia. She came back so impressed by these rurally oriented schools, and the other experimental schools visited, that a widespread interest in educational reform was generated within the United Farm Women's organization.[29] Mrs. Parlby's biographer writes that the "U.F.A. was concerned with the problem of providing an elementary education in rural districts which did not necessarily lead away from the farm. It was hoped that somewhere in the experimental schools of Europe they might find an answer."[30] Ironically, a hasty check will show that it was the very children of the organization's leaders who in fact did leave the farm, many of them making for themselves successful careers in urban society.

It was the Dalton plan that drew much of Mrs. Parlby's attention, and later the interest of the women of the movement. In her address to the 1925 U.F.W.A. Convention, "Educating Our Children," Mrs. Parlby introduced to the assembled women, Miss Helen Parkhurst's plan for individualizing instruction: a rejection of the teacher-dominated group activity and lock-step approach commonly labeled the recitation method of instruction.[31]

> Its [the plan's] main features are a reorganization of school machinery, so that each child proceeds at a pace suited to his mental capacity, instead of children being shoved in droves and herds from one grade to the next. So the quick child travels swiftly and retains interest in his work, while the slower boy goes at a suitable gait without being classed as a dullard.[32]

The Dalton Plan was an unmistakable challenge to the kind of schooling which had been functioning in Alberta's schools, especially the rural schools of the province. The Honorable Irene Parlby, armed with these ideas for renovation and rejuvenation, threw herself into the struggle to remake the schools of her beloved Alberta. Unfortunately, the primitive condition of rural schooling made folly of such vision. The educational aim of the Farmers' Government during this decade, "Grade VIII for Every Child" was the most that could be expected, given the prevailing economic and social conditions.

With the exceptions of Irene Parlby and Leona R. Barritt, the founding secretary of the U.F.W.A., first Convenor of Education, rural teacher, and a continuing, aggressive advocate for rural school betterment,[33] the most forceful personality working for education within the movement and supporting innovation for rural schools at large, was Susan Margaret Gunn, president of the U.F.W.A. from 1924 to 1929, Convenor for the U.F.A.'s Education Committee, 1922-1928, and for over thirty years a key personality in the Canadian agrarian movement. Trained as a school teacher with two years teaching experience before her marriage to homesteader Rod Gunn, Susan Gunn writes of those first difficult years of building the farm:

> There were years of isolation and loneliness and hard physical labor. The work was what really got me down. Two babies arrived and in addition to their care there was the housekeeping, the cooking, the churning, the bread making, raising chickens, looking after a garden. I often thought-"all that a farm woman really needs is a strong back and a weak head."[34]

In spite of the hard work, Rod and Susan Gunn established one of the most successful farm operations in

Western Canada. And when the farm movement spread across the province, it was for this woman an obvious outlet for her own energy and a vehicle for the social improvements she sensed so acutely. Mrs. Gunn threw herself into the work of the United Farmers of Alberta, taking an active role as leader in the provincial men's and women's organization, convening the work of the young people for the U.F.W.A. in 1919, and serving as either chairman or member of both the U.F.A. and the U.F.W.A. Education Committees during most of the decade 1920-1930. Few women exerted an effort equal to this woman on behalf of the farm movement. Mrs. Gunn, like her predecessor Irene Parlby, continually struggled for the improvement of rural life:

> I saw farm life as a permanent calling for me and my husband. For my children I was happy for them to have the freedom of farm life, the companionship of lovely saddle horses and beautiful dogs; the physical work in field and garden for strong, sturdy bodies; the self reliance and independence that comes when on one's own, of necessity, for long hours at an early age. I wanted them to have beauty in the home, in school, in daily life and out-of-doors. Nowhere could these things be so readily attainable as on the farm. I was not unmindful of the fact that many farm boys and girls worked far too hard, beyond their strength, beyond their years. I deplored the shoulders bent from early toil, often the plodding footsteps, instead of the vibrant step of youth, carefree and vigorous.[35]

In connection with her responsibilities as a member of the two organizations' Education Committees, Mrs. Gunn undertook a broad study of the deficiences and remedies for improving contemporary rural schools.

Spurred on by the work done by her predecessor Mrs. Barritt and by Mrs. Parlby, Susan Gunn used the convention podium, the pages of The U.F.A., and small locals' meetings throughout the province as her platform for advocating "progressive" educational innovation to meet the needs of the emerging new social order:

> It is recognized that a current of freedom is flowing over the world to a more marked degree than ever before. And it is generally conceded that freedom, insofar as the state is concerned, rests essentially on a self-governing citizenship. To what extent, then, do our schools contribute to the development on the part of the pupil of a sense of responsibility, of initiative, of creative endeavor, of self-reliant independent thought and decision; or how far do they rest on teacher responsibility, teacher control, teacher discipline.[36]

The elements essential to the new social order were not being provided within the context of rural schools, Mrs. Gunn insisted. In what was surely her most significant statement dealing with education, Mrs. Gunn, speaking on behalf of the U.F.A. Education Committee, joined with Mrs. Parlby in promoting the individualization of the Dalton Plan as an expedient reform.

> We believe our schools are too rigid, with too much routine. The bright student is the one who can memorize easily, and recite glibly, and thus win high marks on examinations. We recognize horizontal ability, and the rare child with pronounced vertical ability too often is classed as rather dull at school, and then when he meets life's problems, not because of the school, but in spite of it, he flashes out into brilliancy of design, and invention and execution. Our schools should emphasize training, not for examinations, but training for life.[37]

Mrs. Gunn urged her followers to seriously study educational questions. She indicated satisfaction with the role of the U.F.W.A. in affecting worthwhile new directions. In 1926, for example, Mrs. Gunn reported that the farm women had concentrated that year on the spiritual emphasis so important to education. The work of that leadership was reaping valuable benefits to all of society:

> When we note the development of the spirit of co-operation and service in the minds of our people, in so short a period of organization, and envision the possibilities of our concerted effort to instil these by precept and example in the minds of the young, we have a glimpse of the contribution our organization has made, and will continue to make, as a permanent, constructive, evolutionary force.[38]

Mrs. Gunn served her organization with dedication and as late as 1949 was founding president for the women's auxiliary of the Farmers' Union of Alberta, formed in December 1949 from the amalgamation of the United Farmers of Alberta and the Alberta Farmers' Union. Her own concern throughout these long years of service concentrated on the reconstruction of education to help usher in a co-operative social order. "The Co-operative Spirit," Mrs. Gunn saw "as a global thing in which farm people of Canada played, perhaps, a small, but by no means insignificant part. I saw the world moving towards a conciliatory, judicial attitude...."[39] It was this faith that inspired her to work as she did. Mrs. Gunn travelled throughout the province and the Dominion, on behalf of her farm organization and later other organizations, fostering her belief in the dignity of man and his hope for renewal:

> As I travelled throughout the length and breadth of Alberta...to large audiences in provincial conventions outside Alberta; to the international convention in Washington, D.C.; to the Board of Trade in Toronto (I was the first woman to address a meeting of the Toronto Board of Trade...); everywhere I spoke I talked of the U.F.A. and U.F.W.A., our hopes, our aspirations, and our belief in a new and better world through co-operative effort....From these experiences I was led to believe that people everywhere, not only farm people, responded to the ideals set forth by our organization.[40]

Mrs. Winnifred Ross of Millet succeeded Mrs. Gunn as Convenor of Education after 1924 and on through that decade. Another one of the strong, aggressive farm women leaders, Mrs. Ross, a young war widow, joined her brothers on their homestead and remained with them as partner in an important dairy farm operation. Following her career as director of the U.F.W.A., 1919-1932, Convenor of Education, 1925-1936, and vice-president 1933-1939, Mrs. Ross assumed the presidency of that organization, 1940-1945.[41] Like her predecessors, she accompanied her achievements in the realm of agriculture with service to the University of Alberta senate and many other organizations, provincially, federally and internationally.

Under her guidance, the emphasis of the Education Committee underwent a moderate shift in emphasis: there was greater stress placed upon the practical as opposed to the ideal, the present over the future, the immediate before the long-range expectations. This change in emphasis was partly necessitated by political circumstances. The farmers' government in power in Edmonton, and the

Department of Education under the Honorable Perren E. Baker, were promoting a scheme for the total reorganization of rural schooling: the large unit for school administration. Seizing the initiative, Mrs. Ross used her position to promote among her fellows what seemed to be the necessary reform for that time, continually pointing out the inadequacies of the system of countless local school districts and one-room schools. Although Baker and Ross began promoting school reorganization as early as 1925,[42] the farmers of Alberta, many of whom were school trustees within the existing structure, were slow to be convinced:

> We are generally agreed today that children have a right to education. When it comes to practical affairs, however, it is not true that many people are not in favor of granting the means of education to all children, nor do they allow to all children an equal opportunity for obtaining a first class education.[43]

Mrs. Ross' Education Report of 1929 to the U.F.W.A. in Convention was another strong appeal in her fight for school district reorganization. Her report of that year also pushed for medical inspection in rural schools equivalent to those in urban settings, the practice of returning the examination papers of unsuccessful candidates, the reduction of fees charged for final examinations, the elimination of foreign language study as a compulsory course, the upgrading of high school laboratory facilities, and the reduction of the high school's curriculum, "either by lessening the number of subjects or the ground covered in them so that the work can be covered by the average pupil in four years."[44] Although the efforts of Mrs. Ross were thwarted by the seriousness of the economic depression of the late 1920's, she continued to advocate practical changes during her convenorship. Her goal throughout, though, was visionary:

> We can safely say that in the schools we are aiming at helping to produce a better, wiser, healthier more creative generation than the one to which we ourselves belong. For this aim to be realizable we must admit the immense possibilities of children, for education can only develop, it cannot create, and we must always have in mind that a child is better than he seems....[45]

Later, during the 1930's, Mrs. Ross would promote the desirability of grafting a kind of Folk School, in her case the English equivalent, into the Alberta structure. In her effort in this direction she found some success as Alberta's Department of Extension initiated its summer schools for Community Life. Mrs. Ross, speaking over Radio C.K.U.A. in Edmonton, described the English experiment:

> The Village College could easily be transplanted to Alberta or to any or all of the provinces of Canada. Its main features include a few acres of land for sport fields and gardens, an assembly hall, a library, special rooms for adults, a senior school for pupils from eleven to fifteen years of age with the necessary building provision and equipment for domestic science, agricultural science, woodwork, arts and handicrafts. Such a school if established would be a centre of scientific agriculture, a shop for the machinist, a place of inspiration for the homemaker, and the proving ground of democracy where freedom of speech and action is tempered with wisdom and civic responsibility - in short, the village college would combine all the desirable features -

> a school for children in the day, adults in the evening, and a centre for the social activities of the community.[46]

The decade 1920-1930 was an intense one for the United Farmers of Alberta and the United Farm Women of Alberta. Following the leadership of Barritt, Parlby, Gunn, and Ross, the farmers' organizations not only intended to improve their own social and cultural condition, but to bring about definite, positive changes in the rural schools of the West.

The work of the U.F.W.A.'s Education Committee underwent an important evolution during the two decades before 1935. Under the guidance of the visionaries Barritt and Gunn the Committee researched and promoted progressive objectives for formal education that would radically change the methods and goals of the province's rural schools, especially at the elementary level. By the 1930's Mrs. Ross was working for specific innovations, to accompany the administrative reorganization proposed by Perren Baker, while still holding similar vision for education as her predecessors.

The women of the Alberta organization came far closer to fulfilling the educational expectations of their leaders than did the men of the senior organization. Still, when the great organization began to disintegrate during the depression, the U.F.W.A. was unable to forestall the process of decay.

The Alberta farm women had given strong indication that they wanted more in life than the drudgery of laborious work and limited horizons. By 1936 the Director of Extension was ready to respond fully to the obvious need:

> ...the time is ripe for the Province to consider the establishment of a type of rural education which will deal with cultural and social problems....[47]

CHAPTER VI

THE YOUTH OF THE ALBERTA FARM MOVEMENT: THE JUNIOR UNITED FARMERS OF ALBERTA

Goals and Purposes

From 1916 the United Farm Women of Alberta tackled seriously the problem of establishing a successful farm youth organization within the province, one that became in terms of membership and program the premier farm youth organization in the country. The women were committed to establishing a serious educational base for such a group. They planned to provide a variety of opportunities for their children which would enlarge their opportunities and broaden their intellectual horizons. Although several prominent farm leaders expressed the hope that the youth could have a promising future on the land, the majority of members within the U.F.A. and U.F.W.A. were primarily interested in providing their youth with otherwise impossible advantages for intellectual stimulation and citizenship training. Noticeably absent, except in some of the literature made available to the Junior Association locals, was the political and social doctrine espoused by the U.F.A. president and his secondary leaders. In this regard the Junior locals followed the pattern already set by the two senior organizations. The Young People had an opportunity to hear their president speak in convention, read his essays in the various farm journals; but they made little noticeable effort to undertake a serious study of the ideas held to be so important by H.W. Wood. In this chapter the various educational activities available to the young people will be described. Few of these programs would have been possible without the leadership provided by the Education Committee of the United Farm Women of Alberta.

When the United Farm Women of Alberta established their convenorships in 1916 they made provision for Youth Work, convened by Mrs. Zella Spencer, vice-president of the organization. Mrs. Spencer's farm and household duties - her husband was also deeply involved in the organization - gave her little time to develop a youth organization in the early life of the U.F.W.A., although she remained a strong and vocal supporter of this phase of the work.[1] It was in 1919 when Susan Margaret Gunn assumed the Youth Convenorship that twenty Junior locals were organized and the initial University Week Conference held. The growth in numbers of the youth wing of the Alberta farm movement can be attributed to many factors: the continuing confidence of and concrete support of the two senior organizations, the stability of the leadership provided by many of the youth, and the guidance provided by the men and women whose task it was to serve as convenors.[2] Perhaps one cause for the group's success was the high idealism upon which it was founded and upon which it rested throughout its existence. Susan Gunn indicated the importance of carrying on with the task of teaching the doctrines of President Wood:

> Here, then, is our field of work of greatest import for the future; to take the young people whose minds and spirits most eagerly respond to altruistic principles, and by means of concerted effort impress indelibly those principles of co-operation which make for the common good, ensure an impetus to social behavior governed by the law of right, and procure adherence to those higher laws of conduct to which the Christian nations have given lip-service for some twenty centuries of time.[3]

Writing to Elizabeth Osborne of Saskatchewan, Convenor of Youth Work in that province, Susan Gunn encouraged the Saskatchewan women to promote aggressively the organization of Saskatchewan farm youth, again stressing the importance of this work:

> Because this is the most important part of [our U.F.W.A.] work that we can do. For while we are slowly and laboriously making progress in the senior organization to the end that a spirit of equity, justice and unselfishness shall permeate and dominate all our activities, we are not sowing good seed in the soil where it will flourish most abundantly - and that is in the plastic minds and hearts and spirits of our growing boys and girls.[4]

Edna M. Hull, the Central Office secretary who handled the administrative co-ordination for the junior work, had something of the same expectations for the youth organizations. In her resignation statement to the young people she wrote:

> ...if the Junior Branch of the United Farmers of Alberta is going to do its part in ushering in a new era, when justice and equity shall reign, and organization and co-operation shall take the place of individualism and competition, it is up to

> each individual member to co-operate with the other member to this end.[5]

There was the anticipation for social renewal as a result of the promotion of the farmers' idealism among the young. "We must see," Zella Spencer wrote, "that [the farm leaders' successors] are being trained with the highest ideals for our organization's future."[6] Obviously, the task of education was vital to the continuing health of the Alberta organization. Donald Cameron, later Senator Cameron, who was the second president of the youth organization, saw his group playing an important role in political and social developments:

> The Farmers' Movement which has been sweeping the prairies during the last two years is gradually coming to the front as the foremost educational movement we have in the West at the present time.[7]

The two goals that were believed paramount for the Junior U.F.A. were, first, to provide a civic training ground for eventual adult participation within the farmers' organization; and secondly, to carry on with the indoctrination of the young into the agrarian principles believed so important by the leaders of the U.F.A. and the U.F.W.A. The farm leaders saw development in terms of a four-fold plan: educational, vocational, economic and social, with the social as the key to broad growth:

> [Our purpose is] to give the young people of the community an opportunity to know each other better, to enrich the opportunity to know each other better, to enrich the social life of the

> community and to make life happier and better so that the young people may serve their homes, their communities and their nation more efficiently.[8]

As will be shown in this chapter, the activities made available to the Alberta farm youth were designed to meet the criteria for this four-fold development. The Junior organization of Alberta was, in terms of membership, the largest agrarian youth group in the country. Yet only a minority of the farm young people were able to take advantage of the varied programs. For those who were involved as leaders, the training received was valuable, believes the Reverend Francis S. Fry, former president of the Junior U.F.A., now a priest in the Calgary Diocese of the Anglican Church of Canada:

> We find on all sides people successful in farming, business, education, politics, arts and science, medicine, Church and many other fields who were former members of the Junior U.F.A. even in my time.[9]

The goal that seemed possible to reach was that of citizenship. The farmers' organization gave the youth an opportunity to practice civic skills while functioning within the organization. As late as 1945 this objective was still paramount with the Juniors:

> The Junior U.F.A. aims to build the farm youth for better citizenship regardless of creed or political affiliation. The Junior U.F.A. believes in the art of conducting meetings. It aims to educate farm youth in the art of giving public performances and speeches and instilling into their lives the background of co-operation and the art of living more amicably with their fellowmen.[10]

The aims of the Junior U.F.A. were never defined more succinctly than by Miss. J.B. Kidd, first executive secretary for young people's work:

> To train for leadership; to train for citizenship; to follow an educational, vocational, economic and social program; and to enrich the social life of the community.[11]

Donald M. Cameron of Elnora, president of the Junior U.F.A., who went on to make a distinguished contribution to Canadian education, spoke of these goals for his organization in 1925:

> Through the organization we are trying to develop better and more efficient citizens - trying to train our boys and girls to be both better farmers and farm women by teaching them the elements of co-operation rather than fostering the spirit of eternal competition, and trying to train them in the way that their lives will be full of the spirit of service.[12]

Organization

The structure of the Juniors paralleled the two senior organizations, with its Annual Convention - the Wednesday of the week of University Conference; president and provincial executive; and the local group with its executive.[13] Fortunately the Juniors had strong leadership among its members, and this ensured the success of the organization.[14] As well, the work of the Juniors was supervised, at first by the Youth Convenor of the U.F.W.A., and after 1926 by the Education Committee of the U.F.A. Up until 1928 the Junior U.F.A. had a secretary in Central Office shared with the U.F.W.A. Budgetary cutbacks that year necessitated that Miss Francis Bateman would serve as executive secretary for the three organizations. The youth work was funded through the central control budget of the U.F.A., and money was set aside for general office expenses, and a minimum expense allowance for both the president and vice-president.[15]

During the decade 1920-1930 the membership in the Junior U.F.A. fluctuated, with the high point being 1921 when nearly 1500 young Albertans were registered.[16] These youths were organized into small locals, some, of course, being more successful with their programs in education than others. Sitting on the Central Executive were directors who promoted Junior work in designated areas of the province. George Bechtold, as a young man in his early twenties, was a director for the Cypress area of Southern Alberta:

> A Junior Director would (hopefully) visit each Junior Local in the Constituency at least once a year, or when asked to do so. Assistance in organizing new locals was an important phase of the work. Contributions to the Official Magazine were expected at least twice a year - also, assistance and encouragement to clubs in sending delegates to the annual Junior Conference.[17]

While director, Bechtold encouraged the Cypress Locals to maintain an active program. Concerning the kinds of activities in which he helped encourage and participate, he wrote:

> Yes, our few Locals...were very active. We held meetings at least once a month - usually oftener. We engaged in public speaking, meeting (parliamentary) procedures, and organized picnics, dances,...whist drives, public debates and essay contests. We presented plays and concerts to

> raise money for projects and delegates' expenses. Some Locals were well endowed with school teachers, university students, music instructors and musicians and other talented young people. I recall one group who had a magician who could deliver a full hour or more, of performance. Some printed a monthly newsletter - some conducted handicraft courses.[18]

The work of the youth association was such that The U.F.A., noting the existence of Junior farm organizations in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Ontario as well as Alberta, could report in 1923 that, "Junior U.F.A. members will be proud to know that they lead Canada in the organization of farm young people."[19] The Seniors openly encouraged the Junior U.F.A. in the effective organizational work being undertaken. Gradually, the U.F.A. extended more privileges and responsibilities to the Junior wing. Early in 1928 the U.F.A. Board of Directors announced that pending Convention approval, granted shortly thereafter, one delegate with full powers from each Junior Local would be invited to attend the Annual Convention:

> Your Board considers that the result of having the Juniors at our Convention will be of great value to them and to their Locals.[20]

At the Convention that same year, Junior President Charlie Mills, accepted as an equal, spoke to the Convention and demonstrated the maturity of the youth of the movement:

> ...if we are to truly seek to better the conditions of life, if we are to revolt against the commercial instincts and futile materialisms that have governed civilization so long, if we are to revolt against the procedures of party politics... we must prepare to fight a long and desparate fight.[21]

By 1929 the Junior President had been given, with Convention approval, a seat on the Board of Directors of the United Farmers of Alberta. This opportunity for participation was a beneficial method of learning some of the skills of leadership. Responding to the high status within the farm movement given to the young by their elders, the president of the Junior U.F.A. took up the challenge:

> The fact that we as Juniors can attend the U.F.A. Annual Convention as a fully accepted part of that Convention is very inspirational and gratifying and should draw us closer into the organization. We must never lose sight of the fact that we are an integral part of the U.F.A. organization, and a very important part, because to some degree we are the ones who will decide what the future of the organization is to be. That is why we should train ourselves now in the principles of co-operation which have done so much to make of the U.F.A. organization the success it has been.[22]

Provincial Youth Activities

The existence of the Junior organization must be attributed to the assistance provided by the senior organizations and The U.F.A. The locals were seldom left on their own; there was always some form of encouragement and assistance available to them. The most important activity for farm youth was the annual University Week, sponsored jointly by the U.F.A., the Department of Agriculture and the University's Department of Extension. For those unable to spend a week on the University campus there were countless activities to keep them involved and interested in their organization.

Generally, the province-wide activities were of three kinds: those sponsored by the farm organization's newspaper, The U.F.A.; those sponsored by the U.F.A.'s Board of Directors; and those sponsored by outside groups, like the Department of Agriculture, with the consent and co-operation of the U.F.A. Often there was a cash prize involved with a contest or competition and many of the activities were designed to culminate at University Week when the primary and secondary leaders assembled.

During the years under review, The U.F.A. promoted an annual essay contest for the farm youth. Besides helping subsidize the winners' expenses to University Week, the essays were designed to encourage the study of serious issues. To foster the contests, the prize winning essays were carried in the youth section of the farmers' newspaper. This section itself proved valuable as a stimulant to youth interest and motivation. The three winning essays garnered prize money of $5.00, $3.00 and $2.00, and might be on such a topic, as in 1930, to define the aims and objectives of the United Farmers of Alberta. This annual essay contest did not preclude the Board of Directors sponsoring a special essay contest, as occasionally they did. Such was the case in 1926, when the topic for that year was: "What the U.F.A. Means to Me." Yet the contests were not all serious. For 1934 the contest centered on the best cartoon depicting "some aspect of the organized farm movement."[23] For that contest, prizes of $7.00, $5.00 and $3.00 were offered. Once again, the winning entries would be featured on the regular youth page of the farm journal, and the cash award used to bring some young boy or girl to the conference. Hopefully, such activities would encourage the young farm people to read The U.F.A. The youth page carried news of Junior events around the province, as well as the consistently appearing inspirational letter from a farm leader or the youth secretary on such topics as "Why You Should Read History," or "British Co-operators." On the more practical side, The U.F.A. began sponsoring what was called a "Field Crops Competition" by the end of the 1920's; while in 1930 a Junior Seed Growers' Club was organized by the Department of Agriculture and the Alberta Wheat Pool to improve the quality of seed grown in Alberta, possibly the outcome of The U.F.A. contest.

These efforts of The U.F.A. were meant to further the educational thrust undertaken by the senior organizations. By the mid-1920's the United Farmers had in operation a variety of programs, in addition to those established by the farmers to assist in the self-development of members of the Junior U.F.A. The newspaper also aided the young people's work by allowing the Juniors a space in the publication to promote their work. Before 1927 Junior activities had been included as part of the U.F.W.A. page in The U.F.A. After 1927 the Juniors were given responsibility for their own page in the organization's journal. "The Junior U.F.A. Page" was another indication of the high regard attributed to the Alberta farm youth by the leaders of their senior organizations.

Always, the printed resources of the organization's Central Office were readily available to the Junior locals. An announcement in the farm journal indicated one kind of study material that might be obtained from headquarters:

> Dean Howes of the Faculty of Agriculture, University of Alberta, has consented to have prepared a series of lectures on practical agriculture by experts in the various phases of the Science of Agriculture. These lectures will be issued upon application to any Junior Local, or to a Senior Local....[24]

There is no evidence to indicate any plethora of materials, other than those appearing in the organization's journal, stressing little more than the practical features of agrarianism. Doctrinal development and stimulation were expected to be filled by means other than study sessions carried on at the local level. H.W. Wood and other farm leaders believed that co-operative living and working together in a purposeful manner could be a better teacher than any outline of studies. Early in the life of the youth organization, a summer camp program was instituted, not throughout the entire province, but in various localities. The Dalemead boys' and girls' camp was held in 1922 on the Bow River. Attending that camp were forty boys and twenty-eight girls. The purpose of the camp was "to promote interest in the Junior locals,"[25] rather than other specific educational goals.

One of the more profitable programs begun for the young people was the reading course. In her column on the youth page, Eva M. Peel described and promoted a "Reading Circle" for locals as early as 1922. "Time should be given at each meeting," the youth secretary wrote, "for the hearing of one [book] report from each member."[26] With the co-operation of the University's Department of Extension's book loan service, a book list was prepared in 1925 and the necessary books made available. By 1926 the Reading Program had been structured as part of University Week, with scholarships offered by the Department of Agriculture to those young people who proved mastery of the winter's reading, familiarity with the lectures given during Farm Young People's (University) Week, and displayed mature deportment while on campus. Built into the lecture series at the University were presentations given on the books on that year's reading list in order that the youth might have the advantage of reaping full benefit from the books. The Department of Agriculture Scholarships, financial support towards the cost of a School of Agriculture program, were first offered in 1926, that year to Minnie Kirk of Hardieville and Donald Cameron of Elnora. Some of the books to be read that particular winter were:

H. van Loon, The Story of Mankind
Charles Kingsley, Westward Ho!
A. Dumas, The Three Musketeers
G. Parker, The Seats of the Mighty[27]

The Reading Course did not attract the mass support of the young: in 1929, for example, forty young people were registered as winter readers.[28] Nevertheless it did give many isolated Juniors an opportunity for intellectual stimulation which could not be met in any other way at the time. The books on the reading list were established works within the contemporary school curriculum. There were no radical nor reformist works of literature on the lists, for the reading program was designed by Miss Montgomery at the University and not by the farm leaders themselves. The reading course was designed to provide a learning opportunity rather than a program of ideological indoctrination. The 1929 reading list, for example, contained among others The Cloister and the Hearth, The Scarlet Letter and Maria Chapdelaine, all standard school fare.[29]

Another activity for members of the Junior U.F.A. was the Public Speaking Contest, initiated in 1927, and held, thereafter, annually at the Farm Young Peoples' Week at the University. Here too only a minority of the farm youth participated, and those serving in leadership capacities had the necessary confidence to perform well: for example, the winner of the first such contest was Charlie Mills of Fleet, then president of the organization. Like the Reading Course, this activity did not attract large numbers. Frances Bateman, Junior Secretary, wrote in her report for 1930:

> ...if more Juniors do not participate this year than did last, I am afraid the U.F.A. Board will discontinue the practice of offering medals....[30]

Encouraging the young people to attempt the contest, Miss Bateman explained that the speech must be on some phase of the farmers' movement, such as co-operative marketing, organization, co-operation or group government. Once again, for those few farm young people who took the initiative to participate, the Public Speaking Contest was a learning experience.[31] The young people could borrow resource materials from Central Office to assist them in the preparation of their speeches. Noticeably the topics for the Speech Contest were geared to introduce the youth into some of the more philosophical questions of concern to the agrarian movement. It was in activities such as this that the youngsters came to understand the doctrine espoused by their leaders. Unfortunately, the majority of the youth failed to become involved in these kinds of activities.

In 1924 the United Farmers of Alberta introduced, for the Junior U.F.A., a Junior Efficiency Award. This Award was to be based upon an evaluation of each provincial youth local of the organization. Naturally, it was assumed that such a prize would stimulate the young people in planning a purposeful program for themselves, especially the educational aspects of such a program. Such was the case, as many locals outdid each other in carrying on a full winter schedule. The presentation to the winning local was made during University Week. For 1927, Loyalty Junior Local won the Junior Efficiency Award for the second year, defining its educational work briefly as follows:

> By debates, papers by different members, general discussion of current topics, plays, programs, concerts and speakers from the University and elsewhere.[32]

Waskateneau, a Junior local with strong leadership, described its work which won for it second place in 1927:

> Our Local has benefited the members by several speeches along educational lines, especially a recent one on the Chinese War. Our periodical paper includes educational current events and reports.[33]

Specifically, the locals were assessed on the basis of membership growth, the kind of organization, method of conducting meetings, the year's program, the promotion of public speaking, and the local's representation at and participation in Farm Young People's Week. To be chosen as Efficiency Winner, as was Dalmead Local in 1924 and 1925, Loyalty Local in 1926 and 1927, and Waskateneau Local in 1928, was a significant honor for the farm boys and girls of that particular group. Membership size was only one of the criteria for the award. Dalmead and Loyalty locals were both double winners, but neither local was significant in that one category. In a list of membership standings in 1933 the major locals ranked as follows:

Local	Membership
Consort	46
Notre Dame	40
Airdrie	39
Willow Springs	37
Beddington	34
Holborn	33
Sounding Vale	30
Josephburg	29
Dalmead	28 [34]

Finally, in describing the educational activities provided by the senior organizations for the young people, mention must be made of the Institute of Co-operation, established in 1928. Although not initiated directly by the U.F.A. the Institute was an indirect offshoot of the farmers' efforts to establish the Canadian Wheat Board, from which the trust funds were derived to support this venture. The Institute thus had the full moral support of the farmers, and the participation of many of the thoughtful and concerned, for this Institute met the need for an educational program rooted within the principles of co-operative philosophy. With the exception of University Week, that kind of emphasis had not been given a priority necessary to accomplish the social reconstruction envisaged by H.W. Wood. To encourage their young people to attend, the senior locals paid the railway fare and the board for youthful participants.

The program organizers took cognizance of the young in planning their courses. The aim of the Institute was to promote the principles and policies of co-operation, so with the young the courses were serious topics set at a level for their understanding. In 1928 the youth lecture series titled "Fundamentals of Co-operation" had the following components:

- Early Beginnings and Principles of Co-operation
- Scope of Agricultural Marketing
- Co-operative Marketing
- Social Significance of Western Co-operation[35]

The Juniors were made to feel an important element in the broader co-operative movement. A report of the historic opening Institute indicated the prominence of the young co-operators.

> And that leads me to say that the rising generation attended the Institute in goodly number. A fine bright set of lads and lassies with the stamp of leadership already apparent. God help the antiquated system of traditional bogey that dares resist their forward march! It won't have a chance in the world. And here, I believe, is just where the Institute will guide the feet of flaming youth into the paths of sane and steady progress....[36]

The youth were given considerable assistance to participate in this important annual affair. "It was suggested that 100 or 125 younger men be selected from the province at large, as potential leaders of the future, should be brought in and have their total costs paid and given a special course of lectures."[37] The designers of the Institute carried forth their plans and welcomed 125 young people to the historic opening Institute. Special morning lecture sessions were arranged for the juniors, and attendance was conscientiously recorded. The afternoons were devoted to lighter athletic and social events. Of the total cost for the Institute in 1928, $8642.15, an amount of $1400.00 was spent in providing a place for youth involvement. The instigators of the Institute of Co-operation lived up to their original intention to provide another educational opportunity for the Alberta young people.

After the initial year the program of the Institute was decentralized into the three communities of Olds, Vermilion and Lethbridge, and this made for even better participation. In 1929, at Olds, 87 young people attended the Institute of Co-operation, 83 went to Vermilion and 66 went to Lethbridge. This undertaking proved a successful one, and gave further encouragement to the young to become involved in the work of the Junior U.F.A.

As with the senior organizations, the success or failure of the Junior U.F.A. rested with the work of the locals of the organization. The youth leaders were constantly urging their fellows on, placing before them their own ideals for emulation. Charlie Mills of Fleet was the kind of leader who believed in the agrarian principles and worked to inspire others. His four-year presidency was a strength to the growing youth movement. Writing in the farm journal, he stressed the importance of character development:

> Nothing can be more important than the development of sound character. Our reputation is what people think we are, but our character is what we are. Let us then develop healthy bodies, clear thinking minds, the ability to do our best in all that we undertake - couple this with a capacity for hard work - then to a great degree our success in life is assured either individually or co-operatively in organizations.[38]

Following the example set by their senior organizations, the farm youth realized that the life of the Junior U.F.A. depended upon the viability of each local unit. Thus, the Junior leaders exerted special effort to maintain the basic units of the organization, and thus built the most successful youth agrarian organization in the country.

University Week for Young People

University Week or Junior Conference came into being with the newly formed Junior U.F.A. in 1919. In co-operation with the Department of Agriculture, and the University's Department of Extension, the U.F.A. leaders and University officials planned a full week of activities in June for the province's farm youth. The event had three purposes, the primary one being to immerse the Juniors in learning materials and situations related to the doctrine of the agrarian movement and the science of agriculture. Second, the week together gave the young people an opportunity to gather as an official organization and transact the business of the Junior U.F.A., and culminate the activities undergone during the previous months. The third reason for meeting as a group is given by Francis Fry:

> This one week each year was the hi-lite of the work of the Junior Branch. Delegates came from all over the Province and lived-in at the University for the whole time. Activities included courses in field husbandry and animal husbandry, grain judging contest, tree planting, etc. for the boys. Home economics, handicrafts, etc. for the girls. Cattle judging, public speaking contest, sports events, tours, etc. for boys and girls. Social events were climaxed by a final banquet and dance. This week gave the young people a little bit of a look into the University and higher education and prompted a great number of the Youth of Alberta to seek an education beyond the high school level.[39]

Whether the inspiration from University Week helped determine future careers for farm youth leaders, or some other inspiration to pursue higher studies was present, many of these young people later did leave the farm to enrol in the University. The week on campus was surely exciting and excellently planned and executed, some of the best advertisement that any university could offer. The heaviest expenses for the Conference, fees for guest lectureships, program events and board and room were absorbed by the University, and the trustees of the Wheat Pool funds, although every senior Local in the province, either U.F.A. or U.F.W.A., contributed a $5.00 fee for each delegate attending the Conference. To assist with part of the delegates' travelling expenses a Junior Conference Fund was set up each year. Into this fund each local of the senior organization, whether planning to send delegates or not, contributed $5.00. This financial assistance allowed many of the farm youngsters to take advantage of this week, with attendance usually between 100 and 200 delegates. Director E.A. Corbett of the Extension Department reported that by 1933, the Fifteenth Annual Converence, 2250 delegates had passed through University Week over these years.[40]

An important segment of the week's events was the business meeting of the organization, held on Saturday. At this time the election of officers, report of the Junior's president and executive, receipt of and action upon resolutions, and other housekeeping duties were taken care of.

The reports to the Convention from the delegates and directors took place Saturday afternoon:

> The reports...occupied the greater portion of the afternoon and were found very interesting. It was shown that most locals are following the four-fold plan of development: educational, vocational, economic, and social. Debates, plays, charitable work, garden competitions, newspaper, book, and essay-writing; map drawing; sports; club work; handicrafts; and many other activities, help to form their programs.[41]

During the morning and afternoon meetings, and at other times during the week's activities, greetings and addresses were given to the young by leaders in the senior organizations. These lectures were important events, for they usually provided the philosophical basis for the farm organization. Agnes MacPhail's 1923 message was based, as often was the case with her, on the viability of romantic agrarianism:

> Tell them [other farm youth] that there are just two paths open to them. One path leads away from the farm. It is perhaps the easier of the two. But the other path, the path that leads back to the farm by the way of co-operation to improve conditions, is best for Canada and best for the individual because it will teach the individual the real meaning of brotherhood.[42]

And especially significant to the week was the address from the esteemed farm leader, Henry Wise Wood. In no way condescending, Wood gave a message of impact to the life of the movement, hoping to inspire fidelity to principles espoused by the Alberta farm organization; principles which had been rejected by the majority of farm leaders in the other farm organizations throughout the country.

> All over the world there is what might be termed a spontaneous uprising under the banner of co-operation. The people are trying to learn its meaning and how to put it into practical operation....They have to make co-operation supreme and have a world-wide industrial system operated entirely on a co-operative basis. This means a true civilization and an answer to [the Lord's prayer].[43]

Aside from the doctrinally inspiring, the major portion of time during the week was spent on relevant facets of farm and home life, with the emphasis on agricultural philosophy present but not significant. Some of the topics and speakers for the 1922 University Week were:

- Dean Howes: "History of Agriculture"
- Professor Cutler: "Cultivated Crops and Native Grasses"
- Professor Dowell: "Improving Livestock"
- Mr. Corbett: "Highlights of Canadian History"[44]

Or, three years later a sampling of the lecture topics:

- Dean Howes: "The Profession of Agriculture"
- Mr. W.J. Jackman: "Pool Marketing"
- Mr. Corbett: "Canadian Literature"[45]

These topics would be designed for both boys and girls, with specific topics aimed at each group during the course of the week. The reporter for the 1929 University Week, Miss Edna Hull, explained the emphasis for that year:

> The girls are taking home nursing while the boys are taking a short course in the different branches of farming. And of course there is a special course for second and third year students in History, Literature and Entomology. Some fourteen boys and girls are taking advantage of this [latter] course.[46]

An emphasis was also placed on the social and physical aspects as well as the intellectual and spiritual. Each morning before breakfast there was a period of vigorous physical exercise. Following breakfast, the University librarian gave, for years, his "Morning Thoughts," small items which carried broad religious sentiment, "from which there was derived a store of fine thoughts which will serve to broaden and beautify the everyday life of all who attended."[47] Socially, a diverse program was planned to make the week memorable, from cinema party at a downtown movie house to formal tea with the University president. Other activities are described in the youth publication for the 1933 Conference,[48] a magazine of high calibre craftmanship and good quality paper which was published each year during University week:

> Time was allotted for recreation and physical training, walks about the beautiful campus, dancing, community singing, various concerts, trips to the Dairy Pool and the Parliament Buildings, and finally the closing banquet and dance, [and] will make very pleasant memories in years to come, in the minds of all who attended.[49]

Judging from the consistently good attendance, the University Conference must have been one of the more successful activities provided for the young. The Junior secretary, in her 1926 report on the Conference, scored its value to the farm youth who had attended.

> From an educational viewpoint the courses offered to the young people by the Department of Extension this year were unusually well chosen and helpful, and every boy and girl went home feeling that they had learned much to benefit them in a very practical way, both in carrying on their farm work, and in developing a fuller intellectual life.[50]

During the decade 1920-1930 the U.F.A. and the U.F.W.A. planned a broad program to appeal to the interests of the Alberta farm youth. None of the programs offered attracted mass support since the economic stringencies of the time debilitated the farm organization even as it attempted to provide these opportunities for its youth. Yet considering the economic environment, the work of the Alberta farm organizations on behalf of the young farm people was meritorious.

No doubt the Junior organization gave rural youth considerable scope for involvement. The Junior secretary noted some of the variety in the programs which had been undertaken:

> Varied and fascinating are the activities of these live Junior Clubs. Debates, concerts, plays, old-fashioned spelling matches, socials and plans for assistance to the community of every sort, claim their attention, and aside from the added contentment resulting from a fuller social life, our boys and girls are realizing the need for co-operation in work as well as in play....[51]

Six years later, Junior president Donald Cameron reported that interest in the organization among the rural young was still high. That year he had addressed 56 meetings throughout the province, had seen fourteen new locals organized and 300 new members admitted to the association. Speaking to the senior Convention he gave this report:

> In looking back over the past year's work I believe that we have had one of the most active years in our organization's brief history, and if we carry on with the same energy and enthusiasm in the coming year, the prospects for our Junior branch and in fact our whole organization, will be very bright indeed.[52]

Yet, in spite of the care taken by the senior leaders to assure a broad program and intensive involvement, the success of the locals throughout the province depended largely upon the youth and adult leadership at the local level. Waskateneau, for example, was one of the more successful youth locals. Here, Amy Warr, prominent and active U.F.W.A. leader, and her children, provided continuing leadership. Elnora was another successful local. Donald Cameron kept this local strong. For the bright, aggressive farm youth of the period the Junior farm organization provided an outlet for their energies and talents. It did not, on the other hand, instill a clearly worked out dogma. At University Week, the Institute of Co-operation, through meetings, conventions and literature, the doctrine was promulgated. These mass-media techniques took precedence over the smaller, more intimate local associations when it came to education. The locals of all three levels of the Alberta farm organization seemed consistently attached to a practical emphasis in their sponsored education programs. The task of inculcating an agrarian or co-operative doctrine was never taken seriously by enough people to cause any significant change in the educational method employed by the locals of the Alberta farm organization. Too much was left to the leader himself to do. H.W. Wood had great dignity and respect. He was beloved by the members of his association. That, in itself was not enough to ensure that the educational goals of the U.F.A. were met.

So the results were not all that impressive. Between 800 and 1,000 Alberta young people each year, on the average during the years from 1919 through the 1930's joined in the activities of the Junior U.F.A.[53] Of these, fewer than half were able to become immersed in any part of the work of the organization.[54] Nevertheless, the program offered to the Alberta rural youth was impressive when compared to opportunities otherwise available or efforts being exerted by other farm organizations during this period and later. That the senior leaders who gave educational leadership believed in their youth and believed in the dignity of the agrarian life, is shown by their contribution to the educational program of the Junior farm organization. That the secondary leaders failed to initiate the young agrarians into the ideology held and taught by H.W. Wood is expected. At no level within the Alberta farm organization were serious, consistent attempts made to prepare the grassroots membership for full participation in the reconstructed world of the future.

CHAPTER VII

THE EDUCATION OF THE SASKATCHEWAN FARMER

Educational Mission of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association

The Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association was the oldest, and in terms of membership and financial resources, the most powerful of contemporary Canadian farm organizations. Originating as early as 1902 as the Territorial Grain Growers', the Saskatchewan organization played a vital role in the early political and social life of the province. The dissimilarities with its sister organization, the United Farmers of Alberta, are not hard to notice. In Saskatchewan the farm movement was stronger in numbers, since grain growing was by far the predominant form of agriculture. Whereas the Alberta farm movement had been greatly affected by two antecedents of American origin, the Society of Equity and the Non-Partisan League, the S.G.G.A. has stood unchallenged for the twenty years of its existence. And although both organizations were dominated for years by a small, select group of leaders, the nature of the leadership was vastly different. Henry Wise Wood and the secondary leaders of the U.F.A. imposed and sustained a co-operative and populist dogma upon their members, while the S.G.G.A. under J.A. Maharg remained relatively aloof from the social and political conflicts of the day. The S.G.G.A. played a significant role in the education of the farmer but in a way that was vocational in orientation. The Saskatchewan organization disintegrated internally, primarily because of the challenge put to it by the frustrated radicals; while the U.F.A. was almost totally destroyed by one great political blow in 1935.

In some ways it is not justifiable to compare the U.F.A. and S.G.G.A. during the 1920's since the integrity of the latter was being seriously questioned by a rival farm group in the early years of the decade. And by this decade the Saskatchewan organization had already made important contributions to the prairie farmers. Yet the decade 1920-1930 was, in the country, the "progressive decade" and the destruction of the once all-powerful S.G.G.A. in Saskatchewan was probably a symbol of the strength and not the weakness of the progressive ideal in that province.[1] Neither the rival nor the successor of the S.G.G.A. was able to maintain the quality of the education program which had been established by the senior organization.

The motto of the S.G.G.A., festooned prominently on its letterheads, was: "Organization, Education and Co-operation Will Bring the Farmer Into His Own." Education was given high priority in the organization, especially in its latter days, and its importance duly recognized by George Edwards, the last president of the S.G.G.A.:

> I have stayed with the educational end of the farmers' movements in preference to entering the political or co-operative field, as I believe that it has been and will be the most potent factor operating in Canada, to bring about the necessary changes in our social, economic and political life, in order that agriculture may be relieved of the artificial handicaps under which it labours....[2]

The Morning Leader, a Saskatchewan farm oriented newspaper, gave its view on the role of the S.G.G.A.:

> It is a religious, social, educational, political and commercial organization all in one, and in the truest and deepest meaning of these several terms.[3]

If there was an undertone of doctrine to the Saskatchewan organization, and if it was "religious" in its emphasis, then the Social Gospel would have come closest to providing that ideological stance. Salem Bland and J.S. Woodsworth both figured prominently in the ideological development of the radical farm segment. The tie between Church and farmers was especially important in Saskatchewan:

> With the school, the Church had been one of the major prairie educative influences. The leaders of the Grain Growers were often leading Churchmen, and most of the participants church members ....There were probably a number of clergy members of local Grain Growers' Associations....[4]

Salem Bland, theologian and seminary professor for the Methodist Church in Western Canada, was in a position to influence public opinion in Western Canada through the pages of the influential Grain Growers' Guide. For two years Bland's regular column ran in the Guide, and was distributed widely throughout the rural areas of Western Canada. In his final column prepared for the magazine, Salem Bland wrote of his expectation for the Canadian farm movement:

> There are true-hearted men and women in all classes of Canada who seek the Kingdom of God. But it is my conviction that there is no class in Canada where there is such an intelligent and widespread and public spirited interest in social reconstruction as in the organized grain growers of the West. Limitations they may have. Their idealism may not always be free from selfishness and class interest. Yet it is my conviction that no class is today so fitted to play a greater part in the Christianization of our whole social and economic and political life.[5]

In spite of the efforts of Salem Bland and others, the leadership of the S.G.G.A. remained unimpressed by such talk of social reconstruction. They claimed dedication to the betterment of agriculture, through scientific farming and provisions for economic viability for the industry. J.B. Musselman, the capable and respected secretary of the S.G.G.A. until 1922, used his considerable influence to oppose both Wood's ideology of group government and the socialists' plan for reconstruction.[6] He was aided by other high officials of the organization, Charles Dunning, George Langley and the president, J.A. Maharg himself. When George Edwards finally unseated Maharg in 1924 it was not for ideological reasons, for George Edwards was also considered to be, by his contemporaries, a "right-winger" in political matters. Thus the attitude of the S.G.G.A. towards the education of the farmer was in line with what W.R. Motherwell had conceived years previously as the need for the rural entrepreneur, though George Edwards, an articulate spokesman on behalf of Saskatchewan's farmers, saw the educational task as being more than merely specific and practical:

> Too much stress cannot be laid upon the part that education plays in human progress. The only guarantee we have of permanent progress is an enlightened citizenship. The best way to create and maintain this is by groups of people, having a common economic interest, getting together to discuss problems vital to them....We make progress as we educate ourselves.[7]

The problem of providing a clearly defined educational program for the members of the S.G.G.A. was complicated by the aggressive commitment of the Saskatchewan Government and the province's University to farmer education, as a result of the groundwork laid by the Honorable W.R. Motherwell, a founder of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association and provincial Minister of Agriculture, 1905-1918. Throughout the province were 167 agricultural societies, supervised by the Director of Agricultural Extension for the Extension Department of the University's College of Agriculture. The annual conventions of the societies were usually held on the university campus, and the annual exhibitions were located throughout the province. The various societies were supported by provincial government grants, and focused their attention on these yearly exhibitions, and not on monthly meetings. As well, great interest was taken in promoting youth groups for grain clubs, calf, swine and poultry clubs. The federal and provincial governments co-operated in hosting camps for the farm boys and girls, a University Farm School and other special courses at the University, and two week courses at local centres throughout the province. For the farm woman, Homemakers' Clubs, functioning since 1911, placed emphasis on household economics, community life and national and international problems, in that order.[8] Into this field, already served well by Government and University agencies, stepped the S.G.G.A., also desirous to meet those rural educational needs it saw as most critical. Originally it was hoped that the agricultural societies and the grain growers' locals would co-operate more amicably than proved to be the case.[9] Especially in the area of women's work, the existence of an entrenched financially-secure organization made it difficult for the Women's Grain Growers' Association to carry on the kind of program it desired. Nevertheless the S.G.G.A. embarked upon a significant educational program, often emulating the example set by the Farmers' organization in Alberta.

No doubt the S.G.G.A. was influenced considerably in its educational commitment by the leadership in adult education provided by the University of Saskatchewan's Department of Extension, established in 1910. This Department was oriented towards agricultural research and its application, and made a singular impact by its stress on the vocational aspects of farming:

> Soil surveys and the kind of crops best suited to particular areas; information regarding the breeding and care of live stock; the use of farm machinery; marketing methods; improvement in the quality of farm products; crop infestation and diseases of live stock; problems of rust and frost resistant grain; of the inroads of grasshoppers and caterpillars, and the thousands of threats nature holds for the western farmer - these were living problems and the universities had some of the answers....It was the job of extension to get information on all these questions to the hard-pressed farm population.[10]

To accomplish this important educational goal the Department of Extension, with the support of the Canadian Pacific Railway, founded its "Colleges on Wheels," trains of fourteen cars in length," carrying live stock, display exhibits, lecture cars, a nursery for young children... provided by the railway companies."[11] These trains travelled throughout Saskatchewan, reaching thousands of people. Little wonder, then, with this fine example set by the University, that the S.G.G.A. took a very practical approach in its educational mission.

Educational Activities of the S.G.G.A.

In structure, the S.G.G.A. was almost identical to its sister, contemporary farm organizations. The highlight of each year for the S.G.G.A. was, of course, the Annual Convention. Here, along with transacting the business affairs of the organization, was the opportunity to instill new fire and zeal into the gathered secondary leaders and delegates. A prominent speaker would address the faithful, usually on a more theoretical plane than usually taken by Mr. Maharg in his decade of presidential addresses. On two occasions, in 1913 and again in 1919, Salem Bland challenged the Grain Growers to move beyond their concern for mere economic concerns. The Grain Growers had the potential to usher in the new society:

> She [the Grain Growers' movement] must inspire brotherhood, or both God and men will reject her. She must heal the breach, she must reach deep into the sense of wrong and injustice, she must pluck out of men's breasts this grasping remorseless materialism or be trampled underfoot.[12]

Such inspiring moments were rare, for the S.G.G.A.'s Annual Convention was staid, serious and businesslike in format, though spiced with the protest songs for which the S.G.G.A. was notorious.[13]

Even George Edwards, conscientious in outlook, learned and articulate in manner, focused his presidential addresses on economic issues, like marketing, trade, and the Hudson's Bay route, with only the occasional flash of idealism. This style was true to the priorities of the S.G.G.A., and Edwards did not deviate from that reality.

Below the provincial convention were the several district conventions which were held consistently in the early years of the organization.[14] The program outline for District Number Six Annual Meeting, south and west of Saskatoon, indicated a two day meeting in December. There was a balance between business concerns and general educational topics as the roster of speakers and topics indicated:

Mrs. Myers, "Ideals of Citizenship"
Professor Swanson, "After the War Conditions and the Farmer"
J.B. Musselman, "The Why of Our Association"
Wiljames Thompson, "Wheat Market and Milling Values"
John T. Hull, "The Problem of the Returned Soldier"
Secretary Wirtz, "Co-operative Cold Storage"[15]

As with the U.F.A., the key work of the organization transpired at the local level. Both the S.G.G.A. and its successor failed to achieve the grass roots stability so celebrated in the Alberta organization, in spite of the significant efforts undertaken. In 1920, for example, when the S.G.G.A. decided to enter provincial politics, each local in the province was requested to submit platform suggestions. The response to this important move indicated something of the apathy within the organization. Of the 132 locals responding, 33 1/3% had no platform suggestions nor wished to approve political action - this after the Convention's earlier decision to support this undertaking.[16] Only eleven locals submitted suggestions for the section of the platform dealing with education, these a compendium of the common educational concerns of the day - school district reorganization, the abolition of separate schools, the introduction of more stringent compulsory attendance regulations and a revised funding scheme for rural schools.[17] The Central Office urged action, but apparently the locals were somewhat reticent to become active. As late as 1925 a concerned local was urging its sister locals to give a commitment to education. Before the Annual Convention, the Harwood Grain

Growers' Association placed resolution number 55:

> Therefore be it resolved that we recommend the study of Political Economy and Social History to all locals of the Association; and also that the Executive have prepared a list of works suitable for the purpose.[18]

Needless to say, the resolution passed, since the initial statement made little real demands on the delegates, and the latter was the sole responsibility of the Central Office. The S.G.G.A. Board of Directors had been conscientious in its provision of study guides and materials for use by the locals. Following the Board's direction, a Special Study Committee under Miss E. Stocking of Delisle drew up the yearly Study Programme, published regular lists of available materials to accompany the courses, and made these resources easily available out of the Central Office in Regina. A survey of the "Suggestive Programme of Winter Studies" demonstrates that the S.G.G.A. executive took their leadership role very seriously. These outlines made extensive provision of ideas for use by the locals. In 1921, for example, for the first meeting of the season in November, a debate was recommended dealing with either the tariff, political action for farmers, or shortening the high school year. For the second meeting in November, following the usual fifteen minutes of community singing - a highly recommended activity - another debate was scheduled, this time with two option topics: one on the restriction of labor output; the other on the advantage of tree planting. As well, several scripts for short plays were available from Central Office for reading and enjoying at this meeting.

In December, the second meeting was to focus on the group's business affairs while the first meeting carried on with the debate series. This time the topics suggested dealt with old-age pensions, the extension of adult education and Canada's national status. As well, an article on electoral reform could be read and discussed. Thus went the year, from November 1920 to March 1921. Other kinds of readings were also suggested, some light and fanciful; special music numbers were planned; and social aspects could be supplemented. The primary activity was, though, the debate. This was believed to be a most worthwhile learning experience for the farmers. A sampling of several of the remaining debate topics demonstrates how thorough the programme's coverage was:

- Resolved that a sharply graduated inheritance tax should be levied....
- Resolved that the control of the press by the great financial interests is a danger to democracy....
- Resolved that the alienation of national resources from the crown should cease....
- Resolved that the property qualification for public offices is a hinderance to democratic development....
- Resolved that is is the duty of the state to provide an endowment for motherhood....[19]

Other years, rather than broad general interest topics, the debates, papers and readings concentrated on one issue. For example, in 1924, a course of studies for locals was prepared, "with the idea of centering our thoughts and attention upon the questions of currency, finance and credit." For that study, "many locals" took the initiative to participate.[20] The central office of the S.G.G.A. also published materials regularly in the farm journals to assist the locals in their educational endeavors. In 1920, for example, a series of short articles was run in the Grain Growers' Guide. These were to serve as focal points for discussions at the local level. Representative articles for that year were:

1. The powers and jurisdiction of the provincial unit of Government; its constitution and form.
2. Lieutenant Governor.
3. The Premier and Cabinet.
4. The Legislative body.
5. Administration of Justice.
6. Education and School Regulations.
7. School Attendance, Laws and Language Regulations.
10. Co-operative Arts and their fruits.
11. Proportional Representation.
12. The Public Health.
14. Direct Legislation - as we have it, as we asked for it.
15. Patronage as we have it. How to cure it.[21]

The study courses, materials and approaches, were similar in nature to those used in Alberta. Added to these learning experiences were special courses promoted by the executive and handled through the College of Agriculture, usually for the duration of one week during the winter. This experience added to the scientific knowledge of the Saskatchewan farmer. During the summer months, one-day "co-operative schools" were sponsored, these designed especially to promote the concept of co-operative marketing. But the most popular summer activity was the Grain Growers' picnic.

Loreburn district picnic on July 22, 1920, had as a focus, junior, ladies and men's ball games. For educational content, Mrs. John McNaughton gave an address to all assembled, this following a basket lunch at noon. An evening dance concluded the day's events. People longed for social intercourse, and this aspect of the movement always remained paramount.

The leaders of the S.G.G.A. were continually urging their members to keep the local associations active. By providing items and ideas to keep the farmers' interest high, they hoped to equal the grass roots enthusiasm so apparent in Alberta. George Edwards, writing in the pages of the Western Producer made yet further suggestions to enhance the work of the local:

> It is a good plan, at the beginning of the year, to meet and appoint committees to deal with various matters and have them report at the subsequent meeting....There should be some place given to the "social"....as a matter of fact it is a good plan to have every member on some committee and thus responsible for part of its activities.[22]

Less frivolous were the Grain Growers' annual marking of Grain Growers' Sunday, and the work of the organization's Education Committee. The first Grain Growers' Sunday was observed on May 27, 1927. Thereafter at picnics, at church services and other gatherings, the mission of the movement was extolled. A Regina Leader editorial announced the introduction of this important day, and lauded the objectives of the movement:

> The largest, best organized and undoubtedly most influential secular organization in the Province of Saskatchewan is the Grain Growers' Association. It is in many ways a unique and wonderful organization, and its success has been little short of marvelous. That success has been realized because it has remained true to the principles upon which it was founded, because its ideals are high, because it has unselfishly endeavored to raise the standard of living and has ever been ready to assist others, and has remained sane and progressive throughout.[23]

The one committee which gave motivation and direction in educational work to the Alberta farm organization, the Education Committee, was non-existent in Saskatchewan until 1922. The interests in education for the farmer was promoted, rather, by individuals within the S.G.G.A. itself. To spur on the Saskatchewan Association to greater effort in this regard, the S.G.G.A. executive appointed in 1922, Mrs. John McNaughton and A.J. McPhail to a sub-committee in order to study the question of education. McNaughton and McPhail met with Alberta's H.W. Wood and learned that the U.F.A. "stressed the importance of locals and the development of a democratic principle."[24] Inspired by Wood's recounting of the U.F.A.'s success in providing broad educational opportunities to its members, the S.G.G.A. sub-committee presented a strong report to its executive in 1922.

> The following suggestions are offered in the hope that they may be of assistance in working out and making a well-sustained, clear-cut, and definite organization and educational policy. For some time we have been coming to feel that the Association has been suffering from an inability to interpret to itself or to its members a reason for its existence. There have been too

> many loose ends. At one time the Association exists for the purpose of getting us a Wheat Board; at another to take or not to take political action. The Association seems to have been kept alive so far by expediencies of one kind or another at different times; by something that would arouse the interests of the people for the moment, but which would not necessarily bind them permanently to the Association.[25]

Such an indictment, by two such respected members of the Saskatchewan agrarian organization, made an impact. The two leaders also emphasized, following Alberta's example, the essential role of the locals in the educational work, and the need for clear leadership in building the confidence of members at the grassroots level. Such practices as the open shelf library, a provincial and district farm newspaper, and an outreach to the non-English speaking communities were recommended. But most important, an Education Committee based upon the U.F.A. was advocated in order "to give special attention towards directing a more aggressive educational policy amongst the locals."[26]

The S.G.G.A. responded to this report by establishing an Education Committee that same year. The following years in 1923, the Saskatchewan farm women established their own Education Committee. Two prominent workers on the Education Committee during the greatest years of the S.G.G.A. were Mrs. John McNaughton, earlier founding president of the W.G.G.A., and Mrs. George Hollis, last president of the W.G.G.A. and founding president of the women's U.F.C. As chairman of the Education Committee

Mrs. McNaughton was in contact with fellow farmers throughout the province. One, George Atkinson, wrote several letters to her during the Great War years promoting ideas for educational work, especially a debating league for the study of crucial questions. Mrs. McNaughton encouraged Atkinson to continue sending his radical proposals through her to the Education Committee, but eventually he became dissatisfied with the inaction of the Committee and became another of the many frustrated Saskatchewan radicals. In one of his final letters to McNaughton, Atkinson wrote:

> the [study committee: Atkinson had been functioning singly as such] ought to be discharged....but since the committee has no real authority it is not much worthwhile to spend a great deal of time considering projects which will not receive the sanction of the executive.[27]

Mrs. McNaughton lost Atkinson's interest, for the Saskatchewan organization was not concerned in pursuing schemes that were not connected with the economic enterprise of farming. Mrs. McNaughton herself later became disenchanted with the farmers and modified once enthusiastic support for the organized farmers of Saskatchewan. The other long-time devotee of educational concerns, Mrs. George Hollis, was for years involved in the work of the Educational Committee of both the S.G.G.A. and its Auxiliary.

One of the most effective instruments for mass education during the 1920-1930 period was the newspaper. Unlike the U.F.A. which published its own organ, the

S.G.G.A. did not own nor control a newspaper or journal. The Grain Growers' Guide, with a circulation of 77,000 by 1921,[28] was read widely by rural people all across the nation. Idealistic in its tone, and aggressive in promotion of the social gospel, this journal served all the farmers of the prairies:

> For some years the Guide cover had regularly a short, pithy statement in bold print on the subject of justice, protection, democracy, the tyranny of wealth, the value of co-operation, the power of the masses, etc. To the Guide it seemed clear that there was a vicious idolatory of wealth abroad in the land.... Co-operation was the only alternative which could rid mankind of this established parasitism and initiate a new era in social progress.[29]

Widely read in Saskatchewan with 15,000 readers in 1925,[30] was Harris Turner's The Progressive, later The Western Producer. Harris Turner was a progressive, for a time, leader of an assortment of independents in the Saskatchewan legislature, and in close sympathy with the aspirations of the Saskatchewan farmer. True to his constituency, Turner aligned himself with the farmers on the economic issues of concern to them, and gave the S.G.G.A., and later the Farmers' Union, space to devote to their specific organizational concerns. During the 1920's as the farmers of Saskatchewan fell into dissension over wheat marketing, political action and ideological questions, the Western Producer found it almost impossible to placate the varied interests. As well, much of the readership of the Western Producer was urban, so the newspaper had to be much broader in its appeal than one would find in the typical farm paper. It was the question of grain marketing which finally split the Western Producer's readers more than any other. The paper came out strongly for pooling, while the leadership of the S.G.G.A. had a commitment to volunteer marketing and to their own creation, the Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Company. Thus the S.G.G.A. leadership became alienated from its own supposed organ. The amalgamation of the two farm organizations in 1926, and the merging of the Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Company into the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool shortly thereafter, resolved these problems before the decade was ended. This was very difficult, of course, for the price of unification was a high one.

The Farmers Union of Canada

The Farmers' Union of Canada patterned itself after its American counterpart which had, at the beginning of the century, "committed [itself] to educate the agricultural classes in scientific farming."[31] This movement in Saskatchewan began in the early 1920's spearheaded by a group of farmers from the Ituna district.[32] Spafford draws attention to some of the differences between it and the established S.G.G.A.:

> The meeting of the Grain Growers was open to the public and the press. The Farmers' Union made a point of exclusiveness, and would admit to its meetings only...an actual "dirt farmer." Members of the Farmers' Union addressed each other as "Brother," and exchanged secret handshakes and passwords. The Grain Growers had allowed themselves to become involved in politics; the Union

> considered political action futile and divisive. The Grain Growers maintained close ties with the farm co-operatives; the Union preferred to stand alone and preserve the singleness of purpose which it thought essential to a farm organization ....The Farmers' Union was sympathetic to the cause of labour....[33]

The economic intention of the Farmers' Union was eventually to "take the marketing of all agricultural products under their direct control, and ensure that farming would yield an adequate income."[34] There was little direct reference to political action or educational endeavors in the aims set out in the constitution of the Union:

> To protect the farmer. To obtain complete control of the main Canadian produce. To market our crops under our own system. To affiliate with all the farm organizations of the world, with one central executive in each country...to keep informed as to the demands and needs of importing countries... and to attend to the welfare of the masses of the people.[35]

Yet the leaders of the Union also spoke and wrote of an educational mission. They had a message to present, a cause to champion, and they were dedicated to their ideals of social transformation. A.C. Weaver, writing in the "Farmers' Union Bulletin," a one-page mimeographed sheet, stated that:

> The mission of a farmers' organization is primarily one of education, for progress in the solution of agricultural problems is ever in direct ratio to the educational plane achieved ....[The older farm organization] lost sight of their primary function. They neglected to systematically educate their members.[36]

In spite of the leadership's good intentions there must have been a poverty of action in the area of education, for at the 1925 Annual Convention of the Union it was pointed out that only two issues of the "Bulletin" had been printed up to that time. Haverhill Lodge Number 316 moved and saw passed a decisive resolution on the convention floor:

> [We] therefore urge our Central Executive to see that an Educational Bulletin on some vital subject be issued once a month, such bulletins to be as brief as possible and illustrated by charts and figures when convenient; and thereby maintain its chief function, and ward off our worst enemy: Ignorance.[37]

The members of Haverhill Lodge had, of course, misinterpreted what the primary purpose of their Union was, and had not noticed that the "Bulletin" had become a regular feature of the Farmers' Union page in the popular Western Producer. Criticism of this move was made before the Convention and a compromise move was to issue regular circular letters to the members. These included minutes of Executive Board meetings, notes to members, or sometimes messages intended to have educational impact, like Circular Letter number 69: "The Growth of the Wheat Pool and its Relationship to the Saskatchewan Elevator Company," a controversial issue during that period. The Women's Auxiliary which did not play a singularly impressive role so far as such organizations had been accustomed, also employed the Circular Letter form for communication and education.[38]

The page in the Western Producer devoted to Union news and articles was a boon to the infant, struggling farm group. Impetus was given to the organization and to its educational work with the appointment of George Stirling as director of education and publicity in 1925. He was responsible for editing the Union page, and took steps to enlarge the educational aspect of the Farmers' Union. He made his commitment to adult education clear:

> It has been our experience that live organizations generally take up some subject for study or discussion, and we think this is a very good plan. Some book or pamphlet treating in a simple way a subject of interest to all would be one way to keep up attendance. Each member could have a copy and come to the meetings prepared to say something, even if it were only to ask questions ....Or the matter which appears from week to week on our page would give ample material for discussion.[39]

Despite Stirling's considerable efforts - and regular educational articles appeared, books and other materials were made readily accessible to members - the heavy involvement of the Farmers' Union with organizing a provincial wheat pool consumed the energies of the majority of the leaders and members. It was this latter activity which enabled the Farmers' Union to challenge the very continued existence of the once greatest of all prairie farm organizations, the S.G.G.A., and to bring the senior organization into amalgamation in 1926.

The Farmers' Union of Canada is noted for its work in bringing into Saskatchewan the practice of grain pooling, not for any significant contribution it made to adult education. Beyond its own periphery the Union did little to attempt to influence schooling in the province.

Its Annual Conventions were marked by an absence of discussions concerned with education within the movement or with any schooling issues. One exception was the 1925 Annual Convention. A resolution "favoring a course of Co-operative Marketing and Economics being taught in schools," was presented and passed. At the same convention a resolution which achieved some notoriety for the Farmers' Union, this one calling for the abolition of the Boy Scout movement, was passed.

> That whereas the Boy Scouts, Girl Guides and Cadet movements are financed and controlled by the present ruling class; and whereas these movements thus controlled spread militaristic propaganda and nationalistic hatred; and whereas these movements are used to the detriment of the organized workers of city and country alike; therefore be it resolved that the Convention of the Farmers' Union of Canada emphatically register its opposition to all such organizations.[40]

United Farmers of Canada (Saskatchewan Section)

The first Annual Convention of the United Farmers of Canada (Saskatchewan Section) was held March 22-25, 1927. The event was an exciting one; great things were portent because of the amalgamation of the two competing organizations.[41] George Edwards presided over a convention of 1131 delegates and 223 visitors. J.A. Stoneman, elected first president of the new organization, was optimistic about the role to be played by the U.F.C.:

> ...all our efforts lead towards one ultimate goal; that is, the development and maintenance of an enduring and wholesome condition of rural life in this Province and Dominion - a condition of rural life that will be attractive to the best

> of the boys and girls of the farms in coming generations.[42]

Stoneman had defeated George Edwards for the top post in the new organization, but Edwards remained positive in his attitude as he assumed the vice-presidency, and the year following, the appointed position of Director of Publicity and Research for the U.F.C. Edwards threw himself into this important work with the same conscientiousness that already marked a career dedicated to the farmers of his province. In 1928 and 1929 Edwards presented two lengthy reports to the Board of Directors of the U.F.C., describing the activities undertaken by his Research Department for each year. The function of the Research Department was seen by Mr. Edwards as being twofold. First, his department was to be a collection agency for materials relevant to the concerns of the U.F.C. so as to provide stimulus and background information for necessary Board and Convention action. He worked directly under Board direction, gathering the research matter as required by them. Second, the Research Department was to be a resource center for the organization. Edwards noted the apparent early success of his efforts in this area:

> Since the convention [of 1928] there has been a great increase in the number of requests coming in from individuals, Local-Lodges and Councils for information in connection with the subjects which are under consideration and study by them. Securing this information requires a considerable amount of study and research....[43]

A survey of topics under research during the period 1927-1929 indicates the nature and extent of

Edwards' and the Board of Director's concerns: Immigration, especially a study of the "fact that gross exaggeration appeared in Immigration literature; Insurance; Tariff," to show the detrimental effect of the Tariff upon Western Canadian farmers;" Public Health, with a special concentration upon the "operation of clinics of various kinds;" lengthening of the University term; flour milling industry; and the prices of agricultural implements.[44] Many of the findings were written up in the Western Producer on the U.F.C. page. George Edwards, and George Stirling doing the publicity for the U.F.C., were in charge of this weekly page. The Publicity Director, George Stirling, had greater educational outreach as his "Summary of Principal Work" indicated:

1. Weekly page in Western Producer
2. Monthly circular to Country Press (180 journals)
3. Monthly letter to Grain Growers' Guide on U.F.C. work.
4. Correspondence re: Articles, Debates and General information for Lodge secretaries and members.
5. Preparation of pamphlets, leaflets, etc. on matters passed upon by the Convention and the Executive Board.
6. Articles to Local Press, and Old Country Press, re: immigration.
7. Occasional articles to Women's Page and Children's Page.
8. Letters and discussions in Open Forum.
9. Reports of meetings of Board, of Executive....
10. Preparation of special articles for Ukrainian page.
11. Occasional special articles for the Western Producer such as "History of Organized Farm Movement"....[45]

The list was certainly impressive. Central Office direction was the principal method employed by the U.F.C.

in its educational endeavors. George Edwards began the work of this Department, but by 1929 he had become alienated from the organization as the U.F.C. moved definitely leftward in its political orientation. At the 1929 Annual Convention the delegates called on the Board of Directors "to formulate an educational program for the purpose of securing support of the farmers and public generally favoring legislation [towards the compulsory pooling of all the grain in the province]."[46] This program would by definition be under Edward's direction, yet it was a policy of which he disapproved. Thereupon George Edwards resigned as Director of the Research Department. He was succeeded by George Stirling, one-time Farmers' Union Director of Publicity, a man capable of moving with the now decidedly left wing direction of the organization.

Although George Edwards had at one time spoken of the locals of the farmers' movement as being "the heart and soul of the whole movement,"[47] there is little evidence to indicate that the U.F.C. directors actively promoted the education of the farmer as had been so with the S.G.G.A. It was recommended that each local divide itself into committees to carry on the Association work at that level, with one of those committees, the Economic Committee, to supposedly function as a stimulus for education:

> This committee should be composed of those members who are the most advanced in the knowledge of this particular field of education. The Economic Committee should keep in touch with all leaflets, pamphlets, books on hand at Central Office, and newspaper articles in The Western Producer bearing upon our economic problems. They should read them separately and discuss them together, and be prepared at any time to give a short summary and explanation of them to the members.[48]

Whether those directions from a widely distributed pamphlet were enough to stimulate the local to action is open to speculation, though long-time agrarian leader A.J. McPhail claims that the pamphlets' effect was negligible.[49] Clearly the initiative was left largely to the local. To assist this committee in its work, "information along these lines will be prepared from time to time by the publicity department in the form of articles in The Western Producer, leaflets, etc."[50] There was a permanent loan library available to the farmer and his local,[51] but what was lacking was the constant guidance in written direction and related resources that was so much more a feature of the U.F.C.'s predecessor. One director of the U.F.C. reported pessimistically on the state of the grass roots organization at the end of the decade:

> The lodges [locals] are in a terrible condition and are not functioning properly. Many only meet to appoint their delegates to the Annual Convention. The Organization is dormant and unless we do something to create more interest in our own affairs, we are going down hill and I feel that we cannot afford to let up on field work.[52]

David Smith, on the other hand, maintains that there was a renewed interest in education within the amalgamated farmers' organization largely as a result of the ideological fervor:

> The many-sided interests of the old S.G.G.A. had been replaced by a preoccupation with an educational function. The U.F.C. (SS) interpreted its role as that of 'a vanguard movement.' To remind members of the goal set down by the United Farmers, the president of the local lodge was to conclude each meeting by enjoining members to 'spend some time in studying how best to carry out our aims and objectives, that we may by co-operative endeavor, make life better, fuller, happier and nobler for all who labor on the land.[53]

But at the mid-point in the decade, even in this agrarian organization experiencing a kind of rebirth, atrophy had already begun to set in. It would take a newly awakened political interest to stir the Saskatchewan agrarians to reform action.

It was apparent that the U.F.C. was suffering from a similar but more serious malaise than the Alberta organization. The recent turmoil among the farmers during amalgamation of the farmer groups, and the struggle over the pooling of grain, had left the Saskatchewan organization in disarray. Fortunately the strong leadership of George Williams, president from 1929, helped the U.F.C. to survive the decade.

George Williams had been a member of the Farmers' Union of Canada. A left-winger in political persuasion, he held sympathy with the progress of the communist experiment in the Soviet Union. From the formation of the U.F.C. Williams had been suspect of the reform potential of such an encompassing creation,[54] and had begun building toward an eventual seizure of power.[55] By the decade's end Williams was secure in the leadership of the U.F.C., and his opposition had abdicated their leadership positions in the organization to others of more radical propensity.

As well as his activity in the Farmers' Educational League, Williams served with Mrs. George Hollis on the Educational and Rural School Administration Committee of the U.F.C. This committee came into existence at the organization's inception, a continuation of the work previously done within the S.G.G.A. Its importance was recognized by the presence of Williams, and especially Mrs. George Hollis, long-time leader in the W.G.G.A. and last president of that organization. The function of this committee seemed to differ considerably from its Alberta counterpart. Rather than stimulating the Annual Convention to move on certain matters of educational importance, the Education Committee acted as a servant of the convention, taking the resolutions of the convention for further study or for direct action.

At the 1928 Annual Convention, resolutions were passed which called for the teaching of co-operation in the public schools, for the reorganization of the myriad of small school districts into larger municipal areas of school administration, and for perennial opposition to the cadet training program within the schools.[56] The Education Committee reported that these resolutions would be given study, and that articles published relating to them would appear on the U.F.C. page of The Western Producer. Mrs. Hollis was also studying the new legislation in education and would keep the membership informed. The U.F.C. Annual Convention seldom entertained startling educational resolutions. Previously, resolutions had called on the Department of Education to keep schools open longer, to set up an Educational Commission in order to "create a system more suitable to the needs of our province,"[57] to encourage the University to place the proper emphasis on the co-operative movement through the economic courses offered there, to implement a more equitable system of school financing, to institute a more practical training program for those teachers who intend to work in the rural areas of the province, and finally, to "establish and conduct on efficient lines, a Residential School for Deaf Children in Saskatchewan at a very early date."[58] Little challenge to the curriculum or to the teaching methods of the schools came through the U.F.C. Annual Conventions, or from the Education Committee of the U.F.C., during that decade.[59]

A perennial concern of the U.F.A. and the U.F.W.A., especially the latter, had been the introduction into the public school curriculum of courses in agriculture, with the principles and bias of the co-operative movement part of the emphasis. This kind of agrarian innovation found little sympathy in Saskatchewan. Mrs. Hollis, long prominent in the educational work of the farm movement, strongly opposed such a measure. Her opposition, along with others, kept this idea from achieving the publicity that it did get in Alberta. In an "Open Forum" letter in The Western Producer, Annie Hollis wrote:

> A child's mind and body also is so plastic that we ought to be on our guard against trying to form all one pattern. Let us respect the rights of children.[60]

This is similar to the argument used in Alberta by the Minister of Education, a farm movement leader, in his opposition to similar suggestions for curricular innovation. His antagonism there kept the public schools free of this kind of change at that time.

Finally, the Education Committee of the U.F.C. was responsible for exerting leadership in education within the organization. George Edwards expressed his concern with the lack of interest in this aspect of the organization's mission:

> I am disappointed that our Board did not seem to realize the necessity there is of doing more educational work, which alone can be the foundation of future progress, and I had hoped that we could take up the work that we started in the old Grain Growers, getting down to a systematic study of our social, economic problems.[61]

While J.S. Woodsworth was equally distressed over this absence of grass roots educational activity in Saskatchewan:

> It does seem rather strange that your Board [U.F.C.] should go so far and then drop Educational work entirely. It is not, however, my own affairs that I feel sorry about, so much as the disappointment in the farmers not

> following up this educational work which I believe so vital to the whole forward movement. I am convinced that we shall not be able to hold our own against the entrenched, well-disciplined and ably-led interests, unless there is a much higher level of interdependence among the people than now exists.[62]

While Mrs. John McNaughton, founding president of the W.G.G.A. and a farm woman long interested in the educational and cultural life of the farm population, also noted the absence of educational emphasis:

> ...we have for the past year been passing through a critical time as possible you may have read in different press comments. The result has been that intensive co-operative education has been at a standstill.[63]

Nevertheless, during the closing years of the decade the U.F.C., following the lead of the U.F.A., embarked upon a significant educational venture. In 1929 the President of the U.F.C. along with the Education Committee, "met the representative of The Western Producer, Live Stock and Wheat Pool, to discuss the advisability of having a summer school for the purpose of creative [sic] interest in Co-operative Education and co-operative ideals."[64] In Alberta a trust fund, administered by the provincial government, covered the expenses; in Saskatchewan the money was raised by the co-operating pools, the U.F.C. and The Western Producer. The first such School was to be of four days duration, have a maximum enrolment of 100, and was to be accommodated at the University of Saskatchewan. The total cost to participants, not including transportation, was to be $6.00 per day.

The Co-operative School opened its historical first session in the summer of 1930. It was as successful as the initiators had hoped and the following year was decentralized into over twenty centers throughout the province. So began the major educational thrust by the farm groups of Saskatchewan, unfortunately late; for by 1930 the Great Depression had arrived, and so many projects conceived in idealism had to be set aside in the trying years ahead.[65]

It is difficult to determine whether pressure from the farm organization, or the skill of the provincial Liberal government, caused a significant innovation in the structure of the Department of Education in Saskatchewan. In 1929, the government appointed a Director and Assistant - Director for Rural Education in the province. The appointee for Director was University of Saskatchewan professor A.R. Brown. His assistant was Mrs. W.D. Summers, a leader in the work of the U.F.C. Both of these officials planned to work closely with the Education Committee of the U.F.C. Professor Brown described his purpose before the 1930 Annual Convention of the U.F.C.:

> ...we feel that the boys and girls living out in the rural areas in Saskatchewan are entitled, not as a matter of privilege, but as a matter of right, to equal educational opportunities as compared with children in urban areas.[66]

And Mrs. Summers, before the same convention, showed promise of positive educational reformation in her attitude towards rural schooling:

> The rural schools that we are going to build toward from now on, I hope, are going to be schools in which the children will not sit in little straight rows of desks; inactive and bored. These will be rural schools in which the children will be busy all the time, - busy and happy. The child's primary right in this world is health, and the next right is happiness, and he has a right to develop naturally. We cannot impose on young children an adult standing.[67]

By 1926 the interest of Saskatchewan's organized farmers had moved away from educational pursuits as the Wheat Pool was organized, and the new amalgamated farm organization was born. The S.G.G.A. had carried on an educational program, practical and vocational, during the years of its existence. Like the co-operative movement in Europe of a century earlier, the prairie agrarian movement had both an idealistic and practical thrust in its educational objectives. The Saskatchewan Association had clearly followed the latter pattern in its own educational aims and endeavors.

It took amalgamation in 1926, as David Smith has pointed out, to provide the activist Saskatchewan farmers with a suitable reform vehicle. The U.F.C. was dedicated to clearly defined reformist objectives, and the leaders of this organization, at first George Edwards, shortly thereafter George Williams, took up the educational function seriously. The organization's Central Office was structured to provide both direction and resources to accomplish the educational task. Nevertheless, internecine quarrels and widespread apathy at the grassroots level inhibited the U.F.C. leadership in its efforts to arouse the Saskatchewan farmers to the need for an education designed for such radical ends. The Saskatchewan Wheat Pool and a variety of other postwar co-operatives moved quickly into the vacuum and promoted their own educational work. This removed from the U.F.C. the major responsibility to provide for agrarian education in Saskatchewan.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EDUCATION OF THE FARM WOMEN AND YOUTH OF SASKATCHEWAN

Introduction

> There's no music, no books, no contact with a cultural, leisured world. One can't even window shop. Dirty, tawdry little village stores - and even they are miles away. There's only an aching, bewildered body whose strength wanes and waxes and wanes again. Above all, beyond all, there's the loneliness. It's an ever-present, all- pervading thing that both agonizes and numbs the soul. Or have farm women souls? Gorgeous sunrises flare and flame, painting the eastern sky till it grows, reflected, in the west. We glance at it dumbly as we stumble out. It means the beginning of - another day....Then there's debt - for the land, for the machinery, for groceries. It's present in the lives of nearly all in one shape or another. Payments that must be met. There's sickness and crop failure.[1]

These the poignant words of a pioneer Saskatchewan woman; and in those words lay the motivation for the growth of the farm women's movement throughout the country. The Women's Grain Growers' Association in 1914, and for the twelve years of its existence, made its presence felt in those areas not given strong priority by the men of the movement. In this chapter the educational work of the W.G.G.A. will be described, as well as that of its successor, the Women's Auxiliary of the United Farmers of Canada. Since the principles and policies of the two organizations were almost identical during the decade 1920-1930, little differentiation will be made between them in the written description. Likewise, the life and work of the Juniors of the S.G.G.A. and the U.F.C. will be described in one section.

The women's organization in Saskatchewan was, in terms of membership, the most powerful farm women's association on the prairie. In its early years it was given strong leadership by Violet McNaughton. In its later years, it suffered from the lack of consistently strong leadership. As well, the Saskatchewan women failed to strike out in support of youth work when their organization was at its prime. Without the aggressive support of the provincial university in its formative years, the women were not able to initiate early a significant work in the education of their members or their youth. Like their menfolk they remained attached to economic and vocational issues, and held a special interest in domestic concerns, something which the leadership of the Alberta women did their best to avoid.

Educational Mission and Leadership

The educational work for the agrarian women was founded upon high ideals. In its statement of "Aims to Accomplish" the W.G.G.A. gave top priority to the following intentions:

> To assist our members to educate themselves to be the best possible citizens of the community, the nation, and the world. To interest them in every movement that makes for reform in social conditions, particularly those affecting the

> childhood and youth of our land. To popularize the study of social and economic questions, and to assist in materializing the policy of the Farmers' platform.[2]

Mrs. Violet McNaughton, probably more responsible than any other person for the birth of the Saskatchewan women's association as well as sister organizations in both Manitoba and Ontario, expressed her belief in the importance of the work:

> We need more system in our work, more press work and a clearer program for the year. Will you emphasize that the W.G.G.A. can only progress according to the amount of intelligent interest individual members take in the Association.... Remind [members] that the primary object of each meeting is for the work of the W.G.G.A.[3]

Another founder of the W.G.G.A., who played a leadership role in the early years of the farm movement, Mrs. S.V. Haight, described her expectations for the Association:

> Our object is progress for farm women....We want education and the more education we have the more we want. We want enjoyment and social intercourse. We feel that the time has come when we must take time for these things.[4]

And to Ida McNeal, president of the W.G.G.A. during 1924, later active in the U.F.C. and progressive politics, her organization was to be one of reconciliation and progress:

> It is to the women that we look to a large extent to eliminate many of the evils such as ignorance, prejudice, suspicion, etc. which are hindering a unity of strength and which tend to block the road to further development.[5]

So the women of Saskatchewan had a high design when fashioning their Association. To carry forth this idealism they placed their confidence in women of stature and integrity, as did their sister movement in Alberta. It will be demonstrated that the W.G.G.A. was not able to wield the influence of its counterpart, nor impress its own principles satisfactorily on their senior organization. The men's organization, the S.G.G.A., conceived with narrower objectives, held a commitment for a vocational rather than a liberal educational emphasis. In Saskatchewan the women agrarians functioned more as an auxiliary to the men's organization rather than as an equal. In Alberta the U.F.A., with particular facility, incorporated the women and youth into full participation in the work of the seniors. As well, the Alberta women were adamant in claiming equality of membership. Yet the Saskatchewan agrarian women were given leadership by a strong core of aggressive women. Violet McNaughton, for one, was known and respected throughout the country.

Violet McNaughton was a tower of strength to the entire women's rights movement in the country. She agitated on behalf of the agrarian associations, the equal franchise groups, the peace movement and other such organizations. She was a constant encouragement to Alberta's Irene Parlby and her fellow leaders in the early days of the U.F.W.A., as their correspondence clearly indicates.[6] Her leadership was largely responsible for the birth of the agrarian women's association in Ontario.[7] She was devoted to the growth of her own W.G.G.A., but by the 1920's had become disenchanted at the slow progress being made toward building the co-operative society:

> I am feeling just now that the people of this Western Country are not sufficiently educated to go in for [co-operative buying and selling] as it should be gone into. My enthusiasm has been considerably damped [sic] by the attitude of the farmers in their own Co-operative business. Even allowing for all possible blunders, etc. on the part of our Trading Association the records show some of the shabbiest tricks played by the co-operative members quite apart from anything to do with the central G.G.A....[8]

Mrs. McNaughton remained only indirectly involved with the work of the farmers' organization, since she became, during the 1920's, a journalist and correspondent with The Western Producer. Her interest in the success of the S.G.G.A. and later the U.F.C. remained high. But the loss of her direct leadership was detrimental to the success of the women's association. It is difficult to determine what the W.G.G.A. would have accomplished had Mrs. McNaughton remained active in its work. Throughout Canada she was singularly recognized as a leader in the feminist movement. Had she concentrated her efforts within Saskatchewan and with the W.G.G.A., this organization likely would have made an impact in the province equal or greater to that of the U.F.W.A. in Alberta. There is little evidence in Mrs. McNaughton's papers that she expressed anything but a passing concern for the condition of rural schooling in the province. Not having children herself, she was, of course, less drawn to the shortcomings presented by such a limited institution. She, as the most powerful figure in the entire history of the women's agrarian movement in Saskatchewan, would have provided decisive leadership in advocating school reform. As it was, her energies were directed in a number of other ways, such as in the promotion of Laura Jamieson's peace movement.

Another woman who helped lay the foundation of the W.G.G.A., and along with Mrs. McNaughton helped win the franchise for Saskatchewan women in 1916,[9] was Mrs. S.V. Haight, vice-president of the organization and reluctant successor to Violet McNaughton in 1918. Mrs. Haight held the top post for only two years, and after her retirement played an inconspicuous role in the W.G.G.A. The tendency of the W.G.G.A. was to have their presidents serve for only two year terms during those years, a definite shortcoming as far as continuity was concerned. Mrs. Haight was articulate and at times forceful, and would have made a definite impact had she remained longer in a leadership capacity. During Mrs. Haight's presidency the W.G.G.A. was fighting with the University of Saskatchewan in an attempt to receive the extension services then available freely to the Homemakers' Clubs of the province. President Murray was concerned about duplicating the services available, but Mrs. Haight and her executive persisted, thereby eventually winning the considerable resources of the University to the service of the agrarian woman.[10] The difficulty in receiving these extension services nonetheless set back the work of the Saskatchewan women, if only temporarily. Initially the Alberta women had a similar problem with their University and its Women's Institutes. Dr. Tory, University of Alberta president, was very sympathetic to the agrarians and they soon were taking full advantage of the many extension services.

Mrs. Haight, unlike Mrs. McNaughton, expressed an intense concern for the province's system of rural schools. The W.G.G.A. did not have an Education Committee at this time so Mrs. Haight served as education spokesman and speechwriter for the organization, with the encouragement of Mrs. McNaughton. Her overall aim was to work for a better rural environment through the home, school and community organizations, and with such activities as school gardening competitions, school fairs, music clubs and reading circles. Of necessity, too, was the upgrading of the rural teacher, a move with so many concomitant advantages. One necessary reform was to permit women to act as school trustees, "for we feel that women are closer to the children and school and would give more time and thought to the needs of the school."[11] In curriculum, her ideas, shared by other progressive reformers of the period were achieving prominence elsewhere.

> Children must be educated along useful lines so that they will be able to be self-supporting later on. They must be taught the things they will need to know and use in their future life. A great many of the studies now taken up in school are lovely to know. They make for culture but they will not help a country girl to make her own clothes or cook a well balanced meal.[12]

The work in education first promoted by Mrs. Haight was ably continued by Mrs. Annie Hollis of Shaunavan. Annie Hollis served in many capacities in her years in the Saskatchewan farm movement. She was vice-president of the W.G.G.A. in 1924, its president in 1925 and 1926, and charter president of the U.F.C. Women's Section.[13] Hollis was active on the Education Committee in 1924, the last of the committees to be set up, surely some indication of the priorities set by the Saskatchewan women.[14] She played a strong aggressive role in the farm organizations in Saskatchewan, and was given the honor of moving, through the Annual Convention of the U.F.C., in 1931, the resolution to take that organization into politics. Her opinions on education were advanced for the time and she surely made a significant impact with them upon her fellow agrarians. But during the decade 1920-1930 the Saskatchewan farm organizations were too internally wracked to find internal unity on such peripheral issues as school matters.

Mrs. Hollis expressed concern about the absence of strong educational initiative within the farm organization. In a speech delivered in 1929 she said:

> At present our educational organization is not carrying on any definite form of educational work. Everything is somewhat haphazard and lack [sic] co-ordination; no definite line of work is being followed. We have no trained "field workers;" each director, speaker or field worker is left too much to his or her own sweet will....[15]

In the same speech, Hollis warned against the

Wheat Pool becoming completely absorbed in the "techniques of business" while ignoring the educational mission of the co-operative movement:

> The Pools and all commercial co-operative organizations should endeavor to develop a common and definite educational policy, not merely (as I have said before) on the technical side but also on the ethical or theoretical side.[16]

Constructively setting forth her own vision for co-operative education, Mrs. Hollis called for the meeting of a Co-operative Conference of the pools and such organizations associated with the farm movement. From this assembly would emerge a co-ordinating Central Co-operative Bureau and Research Department with its own publicity department. From this leadership might come a great social co-operative federation, and eventually summer schools, holiday or recreational camps, scholarships for boys and girls, connections with the Universities and a gradual improvement of both Public Schools and Adult Education.[17] Part of her ideas were realized when the Co-operative School met in its first session during the summer of 1930.

Along with her concern for adult and youth education within the movement went a strong desire to advocate changes in the system of rural schooling in Saskatchewan. She was convinced that the leaders of the co-operative movement must influence rural schooling. Their default in this regard would continue the present domination of schooling by capitalists and financiers. Mrs. Hollis was especially effective in her committee work for the W.G.G.A.

for the three final years of that Association's existence. Each year she set for herself some area for study, and yearly she brought back her findings to the Board and Annual Convention. Some areas of concentration were:

1. The training and status of teachers (1924)
2. Financing of rural schools (1925)
3. Fitting the curriculum to the rural school (1925)
4. Teaching high school work in rural schools (1925)
5. Municipal school reorganization (1926)
6. Training and curriculum of the Normal Schools (1926)

Many of the resolutions related to schools were brought before the Annual Conventions of the W.G.G.A. and the S.G.G.A. by Mrs. Hollis. In 1923 Hollis reported that "the big problem was to secure more mature and more permanent teachers in the rural schools."[18] She also called for a more general method of financing schools, especially for the impoverished districts; a greater realization of the importance of the teaching profession; and a thorough study by the organization of the defects of rural education. The latter suggestion might have been possible had not financial exigency caused a cut-back in convention time to three days. In her 1924 Report, Hollis recommended school district reorganization to provide greater educational opportunity; in 1925 she called for at least one year's normal training for rural teachers, "with more practical training in the management of a rural school...."[19] That same year she decried the state of rural schooling:

> ...the education being received by our children in the rural schools of this province leaves much to be desired; that many parents have 'left the farms' because of the poor educational facilities

> in the majority of our rural districts; that there is still little permanence in the teaching profession in our rural schools; that our children are being practiced upon by young and inexperienced teachers; that the majority of our rural boys and girls are leaving school with no education beyond that of grade 5 and that our children are not receiving a training to fit them for their future as citizens of a self-governing country.[20]

Her strongest recommendation was for the implementation of a system of municipal school districts which "will tend to establish rural high schools, which could be adapted to the special needs of our rural districts, a type similar to the much talked of Folk High Schools of Denmark."[21] Mrs. Hollis had made a special study of the elementary and folk-high schools of Denmark and was convinced, as was Alberta's Irene Parlby, that this model could be introduced successfully into Western Canada. In her second Education Report, she wrote:

> ...We must have a different curruculum in rural schools from that of the town or city schools; train all children as future citizens, not as future farmers or carpenters or even doctors - specialization must begin at a later period - not in our elementary public schools. Let us aim at the development of character, not the mere accumulation of facts.[22]

With the problem of amalgamation, and the building of the new farm organization, the devotion and energy given to the cause of education by Mrs. Hollis was dissipated. During the years of the existence of the W.G.G.A. no person had given as much to the cause of the betterment of rural schooling than had Annie Hollis. After Mrs. McNaughton's term as president of the W.G.G.A., 1915-1917, the organization lacked the strong leadership necessary to exert decisive pressure on the senior farm organization. Unlike Alberta, the W.G.G.A. had no member with a prestigious position within the cabinet of the provincial government. And unlike Alberta, no president of the W.G.G.A. following Mrs. Haight in 1919, until the two final years of that organization under the guidance of Mrs. Hollis, took any serious interest in the reform of rural schools. Mrs. Hollis worked alone in her crusade to enlighten her fellow members to the need for a reformed education. She had no significant committee structure to assist her in this work, nor asupportive and sympathetic women's organization comparative with the U.F.W.A.

The Women's Educational Activities

At the outset, the W.G.G.A. found themselves in competition with the Homemakers' Clubs of Saskatchewan. As with the Women's Institute in Alberta the Homemakers were subsidized by the provincial government, but in Saskatchewan there was a special affinity between the Homemakers' Association and the University of Saskatchewan, which was in charge of guiding the program for the women.[23] During Mrs. Haight's presidency of the W.G.G.A. the facilities and resources of the University were obtained, from a somewhat reluctant President Murray, for the benefit of the Grain Growers' Association. And then in 1922 the Provincial Library of Saskatchewan instituted the "Open-

Shelf-Library" to supplement its Travelling Library service,[24] once again following the dogged insistence of the S.G.G.A. and the Women's Auxiliary.[25] The 1921 S.G.G.A. Resolution forwarded to the Government of Saskatchewan read:

> Resolved that the provincial government of Saskatchewan be asked to establish an extension library service in connection with the travelling libraries department...[and] that the government be further asked that such service be similar to the system operated in Alberta....[26]

Thus, once these facilities and services were available freely to them, the educational program of the W.G.G.A. grew considerably more effective.[27] It was, nevertheless, the local's responsibility to make use of the resources and assistance of Central Office in planning good programs. Some understanding of the work done by the local associations is seen in the survey run in 1922 by Miss Lottie M. Linfoot, secretary to the W.G.G.A. The replies received indicated a broad spectrum of interest and activity. One local secretary wrote that "...all our efforts have been towards improving ourselves as farmers,"[28] whereas S. Luchsinger of the Clearwater Local reported that:

> ...debates are more exciting than anything else. It helps people to see both sides of a question. One important thing about choosing debating questions is that it should be on up-to-date issues, so as to keep members right up to date on our most fundemental needs. One difficulty with debates is that it is hard to find sufficient material on a new issue for a lively debate, especially when a Local is located so far as 20 or 30 miles from daily mail.[29]

Miss Linfoot expressed pleasure at the results of the survey, though only one year later a prominent W.G.G.A.

Board of Directors' member lamented that "there was a much larger attendance of speakers than delegates at two or three meetings she had attended."[30] Interest surely varied from one area of the province to another, for McDonald Creek Local was in no way apathetic. In 1925 the members had a full year's program, reported the secretary to The Western Producer. In January the resolutions for the Annual Convention were discussed and voted on. In February, a bulletin on "contagious diseases of poultry" was read and a paper given on the topic "Co-operation at Home." In March and May papers were read: the latter on the British Mint; the former on housekeeping as a profession. June weather permitted a community picnic, with 150 in attendance, and a humorous debate topic was featured: "Resolved that the woman who goes out and tries to run the farm is a greater nuisance than the man who comes in and tries to run the house." In July another paper was given, this time "Do we Pay Attention to Ordinary Laws of Health," and yet another paper in August amidst a garden party, on "How to Entertain Unexpected Company." At the October meeting planning for the winter programme was carried on, and a letter from Mrs. Hollis was read: "Administration of Estates." The November meeting was taken up with discussing Christmas preparations, while the final meeting of the year was the annual meeting with the election of officers as the feature.[30] This was obviously an active group, if a minority within the larger Association.

Their program demonstrated the balance so highly recommended by the leaders of the W.G.G.A. And accompanying the education thrust was to be the outreach in service to the community. Mrs. Ida McNeal of Expanse, a director and soon to be president of the W.G.G.A., reported on this emphasis of the work of the local associations:

> Many rest rooms have been established, community halls built, district nurses and home nursing courses provided, municipal hospitals advocated and supported, child welfare and public health activities of all kinds recommended; legislative reforms, reading rooms, libraries and educational programmes, dressmaking and millinery courses and home improvement and better marketing facilities for the by-products of the farm, have all been part of the work.[32]

The Central Office of the Association gave the same assistance to the locals of the organization as did the Alberta Central Office, both placing the major responsibility for programming upon the local itself. In the 1922 "Suggestive Programme" the responsibility of the local association was clearly set forth:

> This suggestive program has been prepared merely as an aid to the clubs, and as an indication of the wide variety of topics which may be taken up, but should of course be adapted to local needs. The annual conventions prove that rural women are not only taking their citizenship very seriously, but are most anxious to measure up to their opportunities, and programs should not be made entirely of household topics, although these have their place also.[33]

In that 1922 program a three-fold emphasis was stressed: home, farm and cultural. For the home, meetings were planned on labor saving devices, the lightening of housekeeping duties and the use of modern cooking equipment. For the farm emphasis one meeting was planned, that one in April on the "Co-operative Marketing of Eggs." The cultural emphasis received predominance that year with four meetings planned: one on municipal government and women's responsibilities; another on the question of special privilege versus equal rights for women; a third on the problem of keeping boys and girls on the farm; and a final meeting with that emphasis, in September, promoting the "advisability of forming a Reading Circle....[and making] use of the Open Shelf Library."[34] This practice of providing a carefully laid out program for use by the locals was not followed as conscientiously by the U.F.C. after amalgamation in 1926. Perhaps this was one reason for the weakness of the provincial locals.

As well as the education of its own membership, the W.G.G.A. also took considerable interest in the condition of rural schooling within the province. The Education Committee of the W.G.G.A. was not organized until after 1923, yet interested leaders in the Association had taken the initiative to bring resolutions related to schools before the Annual Convention. Under Mrs. Hollis and her Education Committee the work became more formalized and effective, yet the W.G.G.A. impact on provincial education was felt before that time.

At the 1920 Annual Convention of the W.G.G.A. resolutions were discussed and passed urging the provincial government: to raise the school leaving age to fourteen, or the grade equivalent of six years of formal schooling, a perennial concern of the Association; to introduce municipal school boards for rural areas; to expand the provincial system of travelling libraries; and to insist upon noon hour supervision for schools.[35] The year following, the minimum age resolution passed through convention again as well as a resolution opposing cadet military training in the schools. At the 1922 Annual Convention, Mrs. Burbank reported to the delegates on the progress of the organization's previous resolutions:

> ...special efforts were made during the year to secure the Open Shelf Library, and to bring before the Legislature the amendment to the school attendance Act requiring the raising of the grade standard....The latter endeavor had been somewhat fruitless...as many of the legislators seemed to have missed the point of the amendment, and the session had raised the age for compulsory attendance, but had not required the grade standard....[36]

That same year the W.G.G.A. requested the Government of Saskatchewan to appoint one of its members to the advisory board of the College of Agriculture. In 1923 the newly formed Education Committee met with Mr. Latta, Minister of Education, and presented the resolutions of the W.G.G.A. directly to him. Mr. Latta expressed his willingness to meet the Association's requests, especially as to compulsory school grade leaving age. Also, he promised to take under advisement their request to have a member serve on the College of Agriculture Advisory Board. The strongest education resolution from the Annual Convention of 1925 urged the Department of Education to stipulate a minimum training period of at least one year for potential teachers. Thus the educational proposals of the W.G.G.A. were practical in approach, short range objectives to patch up a decrepit school system. And with the formation of the Women's Section of the U.F.C. the pattern of resolutions deviated little from the recommendations brought forward by its predecessor. For example, in 1929, the women of the U.F.C. demanded that school textbooks be purged of their militaristic bias, that a residential school for deaf children be founded, and that the University year not be lengthened.[37]

An especially important innovation for women introduced by the U.F.C. was University Women's Week, initiated in June of 1928. Patterned upon Alberta's University Young People's Week, the four day session combined inspiration, education and the business affairs of the organization to replace the traditional Annual Convention for the women.

> Last year [1928] the women delegates heard lectures and took part in discussions on many problems concerning the Farm Home and Farm Garden; Home Economics; Habit Forming in Children; Health; Home Water Supply and Sewage; The Laying Out of the Farm Garden, and many other subjects of like interest. They also saw demonstrations of many new ideas for saving time and labor in the kitchen.[38]

Every effort was made to encourage the farm women to attend this conference. For women with small children, the Red Cross Society supplied nurses for the young children in a nursery provided for that purpose. For the first University Week an essay contest was initiated, with prize money offered to cover the expenses of the week. Evening social events were popular, as were the various exhibits on display for the week. For the 1928 Conference the displays on hand were:

> (1) A baking test, showing how to make bread from grades 4,5,6, wheat; (2) A Public Health exhibit; (3) Books from "Open Shelf" Library; (4) The Balopticon - an automatic picture machine; (5) The Saskatchewan Anti-Tuberculosis League Exhibit from Sanitorium; (6) A Pottery Exhibit, showing articles made from Saskatchewan Clay; (7) A museum display.[39]

Plans were made to feature a series of outstanding speakers for the week's meetings. In 1928 the two keynote addresses were given by Mrs. Jamieson of Vancouver, prominent in the peace movement, and the Honorable Irene Parlby, Alberta's Minister without Portfolio. Both women spoke on educational topics, preparing the delegates for the forthcoming changes in provincial educational legislation:

> The two former addresses are now of vital importance to our membership, as a stepping-stone to an understanding of the new ideas that will soon be introduced into our schools by the Department of Education, known as "Creative" or "Progressive" Education. A thorough study and discussion of these addresses should lead to an early appreciation of the suggestions now put forward by the Superintendent of Education as well as the two Directors of Rural Education, and bring about the much to be desired co-operation between the parents and teachers of our Province.[40]

The advantage of combining intense educational experiences with the more mundane business affairs of the organization made University Week for Farm Women a successful venture. Once again, the deepening economic depression and drought conditions within Saskatchewan made it almost impossible to carry on significant educational work. In 1929, for example, activities for the women were combined with sessions of the Co-operative Summer Schools to save on duplication. And when the first Junior Conference was inaugurated in 1930, it was in conjunction with the third annual Farm Women's Week, another economic move. What had begun as an exciting venture was necessarily cut back, likely to the detriment of the participants and the organization generally.

What could have been a significant contribution to adult education and rural schooling in Saskatchewan by the W.G.G.A. was cut short when the Farmers' Union of Canada decisively challenged the S.G.G.A., and forced the great Saskatchewan farm organization into an amalgamation in 1926. That, with the excitement of the years of the 1920's while the Wheat Pool was being founded, tended to diminish the significance of educational issues and activities. Internal ideological conflict beset the fledgling U.F.C. from its birth until 1929, and by the end of the decade the impact of the world wide economic depression had been decisively felt in Saskatchewan.

The absence of consistently strong leadership, the lack of open support from the men's organizations, and the ideological dissension within the Saskatchewan farm movement after 1920 were all causes of the weakness of the educational program and activities among the women of the Grain Growers. Mrs. Hollis provided strong leadership on the Education Committee, but this position failed to offer her sufficient advantage when it came to impressing her educational ideas upon the membership at large. Unlike the U.F.A., the S.G.G.A. itself did not have an Education Committee which functioned on any regular basis. In Saskatchewan, educational matters were reserved to the women. The men busied themselves with the important details concerning production and prices.

In Alberta, the pressure of the U.F.W.A., its leaders and committees were pronounced. In the organization's journal, The U.F.A., in convention and meeting reports, the work pursued by the women was given its due recognition. This encouragement was surely a stimulus for the leaders of the Alberta women to perservere in their work.

The Junior Farm Movement: Aims and Objectives

The women of the Grain Growers' Association of Saskatchewan assumed the responsibility for the fostering and development of a junior farm organization in the province. From 1920, four years later than in Alberta, a Convenorship for Young People's work was established, then under the direction of the redoubtable Annie Hollis, assisted by Lottie Linfoot, Central Office secretary in charge of youth work.[41] In 1923 the capable Mrs. Osborne took over the convenorship until 1926, again assisted by Miss Linfoot.[42] Important steps to build the youth movement were undertaken, for the farm women leaders in Saskatchewan strongly believed in this phase of their responsibilities. In their Year Book for 1920, the W.G.G.A. stated:

> If the ideals of this association which include the betterment of rural conditions are to be realized, it is very necessary to secure the interest of the rural young people in the movement, and this can best be done by the organization of Juvenile Grain Growers' Clubs. The boys and girls of today, who are the men and women of tomorrow, should be impressed with the dignity and independence of agricultural pursuits, and an effort should be made to make rural life attractive enough to counteract the city-wide tendency which is so hurtful to rural Canada. Junior Clubs develop the spirit of co-operation and service, and offer an opportunity for the young people to cultivate qualities of leadership which will mean so much to the future of the organization.[43]

Miss Linfoot, reporting on the objectives of this youth work, wrote in her 1921 report:

> [Our aim is] to assist the farm boys and girls to realize the dignity and independence of agricultural pursuits, to develop a broad vision of life and its responsibilities, to cultivate the spirit of service and co-operation, and to understand the ideals of the farmers' movement.[44]

While Mrs. Hollis, one time convenor of the Association's youth work, recognized the importance of the task.

> [We are] to help in preparing the future citizens, our boys and girls, for the work which lies before them in the new world they are entering.[45]

The Juvenile Grain Growers, their official name, aspired to live up to a noble law, blazoned at the top of their Statement of Constitution: "Be honorable, kind, studious, courteous, cheerful, thrifty, and pure in that, word and deed [sic]." Translated into more practical terms, this motto imposed upon the Saskatchewan farm boys and girls an impressive list of responsibilities:

> (1) To establish libraries, literary societies, special programs, and to further extend the knowledge of the members ...along social and educative lines....
> (2) To encourage our school trustees to properly equip and furnish our schools....
> (3) To foster and encourage Agricultural School Fairs.
> (4) To induce all children of school age to attend school regularly....
> (5) To recognize the equality of rights of the boys and girls and to foster justice.
> (6) To abhor the use of all alcoholic stimulants and narcotics.
> (7) To assist our teacher in giving us a course in domestic science and manual training.
> (8) To prevent cruelty to dumb animals.
> (9) To use and improve the school library.[46]

Such high expectations were never met. The W.G.G.A. Convenors did what they could to stimulate interest and attract members, but the organization never grew large enough during the decade to jell into one unified association.[47] With the amalgamation of 1926 the problems of the senior groups took precedence over development of the junior wing, so the Junior Committee of the U.F.C. made a decisive decision early in the life of the United Farmers:

> It was also agreed generally that no intensive Junior campaign should be put on until the organization of the adults was completed...[and] until it was felt that the general interest in the country warranted more special attention being given to this phase of our activity.[48]

This same committee recommended that someone be put in charge of developing the organization's youth branch. This was done shortly thereafter as S.W. Yates began the slow process of rebuilding the junior organization of the U.F.C.

Organization and Activities

Had the size of the membership merited the functioning of the organization on its own initiative, the story of the junior farm organization in Saskatchewan would have been different. Probably the most effective institution in the Alberta farm youth movement was University Week. Here the interested farm young people could meet together as an organization, be inspired, and encourage each other, and grow in dedication and confidence. Whereas the Alberta University Week began in 1919, the Saskatchewan equivalent did not commence until 1930, amidst the depression, and then only after considerable pressure was brought to bear upon the University officials. The Saskatchewan movement, during the entire decade, never took the decisive step of becoming an official organization. Yet it was toward this very clear goal that Mrs. Hollis, Mrs. Osborne and others had directed their efforts.

In her 1926 Juniors' Report to the W.G.G.A. Annual Convention Mrs. Osborne reported on the swelling strength of the youth movement.[49] "Club work has been carried true to our four-fold plan, Educational, Vocational, Physical, and Social,"[50] with such activities as athletics, music (one local organized a dance orchestra), the farm girls' course at the University, and another art contest for the members. Mrs. Osborne also presented, before the women, a resolution which would introduce the first University Week for juniors of the movement, already a successful yearly event in neighboring Alberta:

> We have been working in close touch with Alberta this past year, which has strengthened our work and given it an impetus. Alberta is further ahead with her junior work than we are in Saskatchewan. They have their own Provincial Organization complete with Mr. Donald Cameron of Elnora, President. Last year was their Seventh Annual Convention of Juniors.

Three years later the junior organization consisted of nine clubs and 112 members.[52] The cost of amalgamation had been high for this aspect of the agrarian movement.

While the development of a junior wing was under the guidance of the W.G.G.A., the activities associated with contemporary youth groups were used as a program for the rural youth. Public speaking was a highly recommended activity; Mrs. Osborne organized a course on public speaking, with an accompanying contest, for June 1922.[53] The same contest was held the following year, and was also an activity endorsed by the U.F.C. when they took over the development of the youth movement. The essay contest was another standard activity for the young. In 1928 the W.G.G.A. Executive sponsored an essay contest with the topic, "The Ideal Citizen;"[54] although by March, 1924, not enough entries had been submitted to allow the contest to culminate. After amalgamation the U.F.C. also used the essay contest as an activity. The 1929 essay for rural youth, sponsored now by The Western Producer, was based upon a series of essays being carried weekly in the paper, "The Story of Co-operation."

An art contest was also tried in 1925, a "water colour of an original farm or prairie topic or scene for country children up to the age of fifteen...."[55] Although dramatics was not used extensively by the W.G.G.A. convenors, the U.F.C. youth convenor Ida McNeal announced in her 1929 report that three scripts, "to teach the principles of the co-operative movement" were available at Central Office - and one club had begun working on a play.[56] The U.F.C. also began to introduce the Reading Contest in 1929, "to encourage the right kind of reading among juniors."[57] Details for the contest were carried in The Western Producer: books for the contest - books such as Treasures of the Earth, A Tale of Two Cities, and Tales from Northern Sagas - were available from the Provincial Library's Open-Shelf Library. And a synopsis of the books read had to be submitted to qualify. Response to this first attempt at the Reading Contest was discouraging. Fifteen entries were submitted but only five youth carried through with the complete contest.

Other activities for the rural boys and girls were those sponsored by the University of Saskatchewan's Extension Department, with the blessing and encouragement of the farm organization, but largely independent of it. One week each year a Girls' Conference was hosted on the campus by the

University, for Saskatchewan rural girls generally, not just for registered members in the Junior Grain Growers' Association. The women of the farm movement had little input into plans for this important event, although they remained concerned with this activity.

> ...it was decided that, if possible, some contribution should be made to the program [of Girls' Conference] and that the W.G.G.A. should by means of a circular, be encouraged to send delegates to this conference.[58]

This popular activity was warmly encouraged by the U.F.C. after 1926, even presented as one of their own activities, and the U.F.C. assisted youngsters to attend as delegates from their organization. And although the lectures and demonstrations were geared at domestic and practical farming topics, the Conference aim was idealistic: "To start the girls thinking. It gives them the idea of service both in their homes and community."[59]

For the boys of rural Saskatchewan the University sponsored annually five "Boys' Camps" in association with major Saskatchewan fairs and exhibitions. These camps were directly oriented towards practical farming and allowed the boys to display their grain and animals in competition with their peers, similar to later 4-H work. The U.F.C. indicated to the University their dissatisfaction with the existing arrangement. This resolution was put before the Annual Convention in 1929:

> Resolved that we ask the extension department that camps be provided with suitable chaperones at our Saskatoon and Regina exhibitions, and judging competitions be held in subjects of home economics.[60]

The year following, the University of Saskatchewan sponsored the first University Week for Juniors, in conjunction with the similar program for the women running simultaneously. During the decade 1920-1930 the farm movement had agitated consistently for the incorporation of this feature into the education schemata for its young people.[61] Over forty boys and girls attended the significant event with a minimum daily charge for each of $1.25. Not only was the educational significance of the meetings something of note, but the gathering of these rural youth gave the U.F.C. an opportunity to organize the very first Junior agrarian organization in Saskatchewan.[62] Frank Eliason, secretary of the United Farmers, was impressed with the program offered to the boys and girls in the 1930 University week:

> The Juniors were given a most profitable and interesting time, which they greatly appreciated. Visits were paid to most of the principal departments...and instructive talks were given by several of the University Professors. There was also a Folk Dancing display, games, and a lantern lecture on Saskatchewan Birds by the curator of the Provincial Museum....[63]

Thus began a new era in the work of the Junior U.F.C., dampened only by the continuing intensity of economic depression. Much of the credit for this breakthrough can be attributed to the preparatory work done by S.W. Yates, placed in charge of junior publicity and education in 1928. He exerted considerable skill and energy in promoting the cause of the young people's work.

In his weekly column in The Western Producer he attempted to spur the adults on to make an effort in assisting the rural youth form an effective youth movement. He described his own educational objectives on the youth's behalf:

> The educational part of the program gives a knowledge of the facts of life, teaches the principle underlying the farmers' movement, imparts a knowledge of notes men and women in history, and of the factors that made for their success or led to their failure, makes for refinement of character, and develops the ability of the juniors as leaders and citizens.[64]

Yates found his task very discouraging. In 1929 he wrote to eighty of the women's lodges of the U.F.C. asking for their help in grass roots organization. From these contacts he received only four replies, and no new youth lodges were born. Time and again he expressed his frustration through his newspaper column:

> Not withstanding all the efforts that have been made during the past eight or nine months in particular, to arouse the interest of our members in the organization of the Juniors, progress is inconceivably slow.[65]

Yet he was persistent in pursuing the task. Reporting to the Board of Directors on his 1929 activities he gave an impressive list of work done on behalf of Junior organization. Besides his regular column and mailings to provincial lodges of the U.F.C., he planned a reading contest, promoted the Open Shelf Library, kept in contact with other farm groups across the country, sent out lists of activities to each junior lodge already organized, made enquiries as to equipment needed for the organization, such as lantern slides, prepared arguments for and against suitable debate topics for lodge use, drafted a suitable winter program for juniors, and many other items of accomplishment.[66] But he could not work on alone so he challenged the women of the province to come to his aid:

> There is no doubt that [the women] have fallen down badly during the past year in the matter of junior organization, and it is up to them to retrieve their position, and that without loss of time.[67]

University Week was the necessary stimulant to the new youth movement. An executive was elected from those delegates present, and it was expected that considerable progress would be made.[68] Once again, the planning and encouragement given to the cause of the young people would necessarily flounder during the hard times ahead.

Summing up the work of the Saskatchewan junior farm organization one notices that in the statement of objectives, education, both liberal and vocational, was given priority, as was the case within the Alberta junior agrarian organization. What was missing in Saskatchewan was the leadership to implement early a viable program which would help bring alive an active youth organization. In Alberta, University Week was initiated in 1919, surely the one most important activity made available to young Albertans. University Week was so popular that Mrs. Gunn, convenor for youth work for the U.F.W.A., was able to launch the Junior Organization before 1920. In Saskatchewan, on the other hand, it took ten more years before the

Extension Department of the University of Saskatchewan saw the need for such a program. Until 1930 the Extension Department had sponsored Boys' and Girls' Summer Camps throughout the province. Try as they might, it took years to convince the university officials that the Alberta approach was more effective.

S.W. Yates, who assumed responsibility for youth work within the U.F.C. after 1928, worked strenuously to build an agrarian youth organization in that province. Unfortunately the resources at hand were too limited. The senior organizations had problems getting their own amalgamated organizations off the ground, without the added weight of the youth work. The S.G.G.A. had effectively ignored youth work during the years when it was at the height of its powers and fame. When it finally took a real interest in the youth of the province, it was by then too late to equal the achievements set by the senior farm organizations in Alberta.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

True to the co-operative tradition of which they were part, both the U.F.A. and the S.G.G.A. owed a constitutional commitment to education, although the leaders of the latter organization did not give as high a priority to this obligation as did the Alberta organization during the 1920's. Yet the educational work of the farm movement in Canada was a major undertaking. Judging by the numbers of people that became involved in various aspects of the programs, the farm movement made a significant contribution. Both organizations, in their days of greatest power, drew 2000 members into the annual conventions. As well, there were the countless numbers who carried heavy executive responsibilities throughout the years. The scope of the educational program offered was impressive enough as well. The literature provided freely to the local associations, the conscientious work accomplished by the various education committees, and the range of activities offered to the youth and adults by the leaders, indicate the serious response given to the educational commitment by the U.F.A. and the S.G.G.A. Co-operation with the prairie universities made the personnel and material resources of extension services available to the farmers. The University of Saskatchewan and the University of Alberta were of major importance in giving leadership and direction in the area of rural adult education. Often, farm leaders merely assisted the professional educators rather than initiating their own independent educational activity.

Historians who have traced the rise and fall of the contemporary American farm movement have found there a similar attachment to educational concerns. As in Canada, educational opportunities there were being provided through the efforts of the farmers themselves, and also by means of college and university extension services.[1] In Canada, likewise, educational institutions promoting more formal educational activities had served Canadian farmers with the training necessary to improve upon the practice of their vocation.

The Farmers' Institutes, supported by the provincial governments, slowly gave way to the extension activities of the prairie universities - both concentrating on the development of scientific farming.[2] The greatest of early educational agrarian organizations, the Grange, was followed by grain growers' movements dedicated to similar ideals. In K.L. Butterfield's judgement, the two-fold thrust was an outstanding success in meeting the goals of rural education and cultural and social betterment in America:

> The Grange in its career of a third of a century has taught the farmers the value of co-operation, the necessity of organization, and the need of education, while the Institutes have carried to the farmers the best methods, as practiced by other farmers and as developed by scientific

> experiment; have taught orally, and by aid of object lessons and illustrations, the terms, the discoveries, and the possibilities of scientific agriculture, and have helped to demonstrate the value of, and have vastly popularized, the agricultural colleges and experiment stations.[3]

Writing further of the contribution made by the Grange, Butterfield states:

> The Grange stands for what the farmers can do in the way of private organizations. It represents the training and culture and power that come to the farming classes thru co-operation. It strengthens young farmers in debate and in parliamentary law. It offers abundant opportunity for social culture. It possesses the best means of organizing public opinion among farmers. Whether the Grange lives or dies, it can always be said of it that it paved the way in agricultural co-operation in this country, and was the great original force in organized effort among the farmers themselves.[4]

As the Grange represented, for Butterfield, the training and culture and power that comes to the farming classes through co-operation, so did the U.F.A., under H.W. Wood's leadership, attempt to forge its members into a reform association working towards the Co-operative Commonwealth. The S.G.G.A., however, under its business-oriented, politically ambitious leadership, remained attached to its original vocational objectives.

Because the Alberta organization was inspired by an agrarian ideology, there was a greater interest in a variety of educational endeavors. In spite of the many organizational similarities between the U.F.A. and the S.G.G.A., there were some important differences which made an impact upon the educational work. One, for example, was the existence in Alberta of a farm journal. Owned directly by the U.F.A., it served as the propagating mouthpiece of that group. Another difference was the early establishment in Alberta of activities for the farm young people. Such provisions made possible the development of a strong youth organization in that province. Finally, there was close co-operation between the Alberta farmer organization and the Alberta Wheat Pool, both under H.W. Wood's leadership. The education work of the Wheat Pool was co-ordinated with the programs of the senior organization, the U.F.A. In Saskatchewan, the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool in that province functioned largely independently of the agrarian organization, and launched its own independent educational program throughout the rural areas of the province.

One cannot overlook the failure of the Saskatchewan farm groups to launch a viable educational program themselves, even allowing for the competition of the Wheat Pool and the harsh economic exigencies of the province. There were good years, especially before 1918, and even then little action to fulfil this priority. Early, Violet McNaughton saw this weakness in the Saskatchewan Association.

> It seems to me that you [U.F.A.] have done this [intellectual development of members] to a great degree in Alberta....but when one tries to prepare suggestions for a recommendation for discussion and possible action, it is rather difficult. Mr. McPhail and I are anxious to get our locals planning good meetings by early fall and then with a more democratic convention we

> hope the delegates will assume more active responsibility.[5]

Frank Eliason, long active in the work of the S.G.G.A. and the U.F.C., claimed that the weakness of the local agrarian associations throughout the province contributed significantly to the major defeat of the Saskatchewan Progressive Party in the mid-1920's.[6] And what should have been a redeeming feature of the Saskatchewan movement, the women's auxiliary with its expected commitment to education, was a disappointment. Mrs. W.H. Frith, in her presidential address of 1923, criticized the women for failing to assist in the development of youth work:

> ...the locals generally have not given this important branch the attention it deserves, and we are not able to report the progress hoped for....Surely nothing could be more essential to the rural movement than to impress upon the farm young people the dignity and importance of agriculture.[7]

On the other hand, the Alberta farm women worked conscientiously to build and sustain a vital youth program and a Junior Organization. The first youth Convenor was appointed in 1916; the first University Week held in 1919. The significance of University Week was in the opportunity offered to rural youth to come into contact with the University world. The U.F.W.A. leaders held a great faith in university education, and many of them had had the opportunity for higher education themselves. Such exposure as offered by University Week was part of their plan to provide their children with a very viable alternative to farming - a university education. In Saskatchewan the farm women struggled to keep alive some spark of interest in the organization.

This lack of interest, accompanied by a widespread absence of concern for the work of the organization generally, even as early as 1921, affected the spirit of Saskatchewan's agrarian movement.[8] The local associations seldom expressed concern for their own education, or gave much indication of a desire to improve contemporary rural schooling. At the 1922 Annual Convention only three locals submitted resolutions that were related to schooling: one calling for properly graded elementary schools, another requesting complete provincial funding for schools, and a third recommending that teachers' salaries be graded to ability and experience.[9] The next year a mere five locals stirred themselves to present resolutions related to school taxation, school district reorganization, the abolition of separate schools and French instruction, compulsory school attendance, teacher certification, agricultural education in the rural school curriculum, and the necessity that teachers be British subjects.[10] The evidence indicates clearly that the U.F.A., following the leadership of the U.F.W.A., displayed greater skill and commitment in living up to their constitutional declaration throughout the decade. By the end of the decade, the Saskatchewan farmers were faced with the question of the very survival of their organization:

> By the end of 1930 the farm movement [in Saskatchewan] was in disarray. The Wheat Pool was in serious difficulty. The United Farmers had been able to collect so small a part of their membership fees that it was doubtful whether the organization could carry on much beyond the coming convention. Its energies were fully taken up with attempts to persuade the mortgage companies to arrest the tide of foreclosures. Progress was slight and the farmers were running out of patience.[11]

As with a predecessor, the National Grange, the U.F.A. maintained a considerable degree of educational activity in spite of economic distress and political adventurism. One advantage of this educational program was in the strength which it gave to the locals of the association. After reporting that a large volume of literature had been issued to the Alberta locals during that year, 1921, the U.F.A. secretary commented, in his annual report, on the impact made by the farm organization:

> There is practically no point at where the U.F.A. does not touch the life of those on the farm, in their social life, in rural education, in the health of the community, physically, morally, spiritually, in their economic problems as farmers - everywhere our organization is woven into the fabric of their lives.[12]

The success of the Alberta organization in education, and then in politics, contrasted sharply with the condition of the S.G.G.A. as it entered into the decade of the 1920's:

> Once it became certain that the organized farmers [of Saskatchewan] would enter the provincial arena [politically] the question of the method which was to be employed had to be faced. Those in favor of the S.G.G.A. taking political action as an organization used the example of Alberta to support their opinion. The success of the U.F.A. in politics and as a farmers' organization

> was striking when compared to the rather serious decline that had begun to be apparent in the S.G.G.A.[13]

The ideological intensity of the leaders of the U.F.A. served to create their dedication to the importance of education. Nevertheless, critics have written negatively of the educational impact of the farmers' movement. Citing Gunnar Myrdal, Griffin explains that, unlike Europe, North American protest movements have been noticeably weak in providing for mass participation and educational activities:

> Whereas the farm movements have pressed strongly for better medical services, roads and electrification, there has been little demand for libraries, or facilities for encouraging music, drama and art. Any demand for the latter has usually come from rural women's groups, into whose sphere they fall in accordance with the division of functions between the associations of the two sexes.[15]

This criticism is less accurate in reference to the U.F.A. than to other contemporary farm organizations. In Alberta the women assumed responsibility for education and cultural development, and used their considerable influence to give these things significance in the larger farm movement. The S.G.G.A., on the other hand, including its women's auxiliary, was dominated primarily by economic motives, and was less concerned with reform ideas:

> It is my opinion that the rank and file of farmers have been little moved by such a "cause" [a new social order through co-operation]. I have been at innumerable meetings of farmers where a speaker would suggest that the problems they were facing were in-

> surmountable unless the present order of society is changed. In some cases the reply was made that that was just what they were doing by co-operative associations; but in most cases the suggestion was met by silent dissent or the counter - suggestion that they were there to discuss the more important matter of running their own business.[16]

These co-operators, H.C. Grant claims, cared little about co-operation, and "as they became more and more efficient in business, they became less and less co-operative in spirit."[17] Grant apparently was not thinking of the Social Credit victory in Alberta two years before his article appeared; and he was naturally unaware of the socialist movement soon to develop in Saskatchewan.

But the most obvious failure of the farm movement, especially in the Alberta section, was its inability to make a significant impact upon the broad rural population of the prairie during the decade 1920-1930. Many of the agrarian leaders shared utopian views, especially when it came to overestimating the potential of their followers. Few of them could have accepted Gustavson's critical assessment of the farmer:

> Speaking more broadly of the rural population as it is met throughout modern history, it may be said that the farmer is usually a conservative. Dwelling on his plot of ground, at the mercy of the weather and its various catastrophes, he is usually preoccupied with the immediate round of work. His interests will revolve primarily about the farm and his neighborhood. Historically, he has shown himself suspicious of "newfangled" ideas. In the political prism of modern democracy, he is found on the Right and usually votes for the status quo. His chief motivation has always been the acquisition

> of a piece of land and then more land, since in his environment the possession of soil brings security and social status. For the parties advocating change, the farmer or peasant vote has always seemed a dead weight and has been unfairly accounted as dictated by ignorance.[18]

Upon close scrutiny, it is clear that many farmers opposed some of the very educational objectives and programs which were seemingly designed for their benefit. Their apathy towards maintaining an education program at the local level has been noted. In Alberta the U.F.A. Government's attempts to introduce rural school reform in the guise of the larger school unit, was frustrated by rural school trustees, who were principally farmers.

In America, as Bowers has shown in a recently published study, farmers there were also hostile towards beneficial educational innovations.[19] In spite of this suspicion among the general membership, American agrarian leaders hoped to use their educational endeavors to stem the tide of industrialization and urbanization.[20] Likewise in Alberta, H.W. Wood held an overly-optimistic view about the reform potential of formal and informal education.

It is easy to overlook the many seemingly insignificant contributions which the agrarians accomplished during their years of strength. Leadership training was provided for both young and old; while young people were given an opportunity to accept adult responsibilities within the organizations. As well, the very necessary provisions for social discussions between lonely farmers, and the mental stimulation offered to the farm people, were contributions to the life of the rural Westerner. The U.F.A. and the S.G.G.A. made a significant contribution by assisting the existing, formal educational agencies in their educational endeavors and by sustaining a positive critique of rural schooling. The majority of leaders of the Canadian farm movement recognized that the vocational needs of the farmers must receive highest priority. Complementing this, the U.F.A. and the U.F.W.A. combined political activism with an attempt at social reformation.

Perhaps most important, the Canadian farmer organizations, by their commitment to education, helped perpetuate the belief in the dignity and the potential of the common man. Indeed, through their concern for the provision of equal opportunities to rural youth, they functioned as part of the motivation towards the extension of formal educational services.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER I

FOOTNOTES

[1] The Alberta Wheat Pool, under Henry Wise Wood's leadership was organized one year previously to its sister organization in Saskatchewan.

[2] Below are the membership figures for the two farm organizations studied. The year to year fluctuation is a noticeable factor,* and in no year did the organizations hold the support of the majority of prairie farmers.

	U.F.A.	S.G.G.A.
1918	18,335**	34,164***
1919	28,784	35,137
1920	30,760	29,294
1921	37,721	22,662
1922	18,832	16,508
1923	14,626	No figures available
1924	15,407	10,580
1925	13,514	11,000
1926	15,552	13,000
1927	11,589	Amalgamation
1928	12,383	
1929	13,580	
1930	18,105	

* The figures are the total for the senior organization, the women and the juniors.

** The figures quoted for the years 1918-1927 are from H.W. Wood's presidential address, The U.F.A., February 1928. Those for 1928-1930, "Official Minutes and Reports of the Annual Conventions," Reel 3, 1929-1935, Glenbow Archives, Calgary.

*** Note that the S.G.G.A. peaked slightly earlier than did the Alberta Organization. For membership figures see the "Convention Handbook," S.G.G.A. papers, P.A.S.

[3] W.L. Bowers, The Country Life Movement in America, 1900-1920, New York, Kennikat Press, 1974.

CHAPTER II

FOOTNOTES

[1] V.C. Fowke, *Canadian Agricultural Policy*, p. 248.

[2] W.R. Young in his "Conscription, Rural Depopulation, and the Farmers of Ontario, 1917-1919," *Canadian Historical Review*, September 1971, pp. 290-318, describes the hostility towards federal war policy among the agrarians in Ontario which led to the victory of the organized Ontario farmers in the provincial election of 1919.

[3] D.V. Smiley, editor, *The Rowell/Sirois Report*, Book I, pp. 132-133.

[4] J.C. Hopkins, *The Canadian Annual Review*, 1922, p. 541.

[5] The statistics for the period do not substantiate their alarm. See C.A. Dawson and E.R. Younge, *Pioneering in the Prairie Provinces*, Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, vol. VIII, p. 47, table XII.

[6] Quoted in J.W. Chalmers, *Schools of the Foothills Province*, p. 79.

[7] I. Goresky, "The Beginning and Growth of the Alberta School System," unpublished M.Ed. thesis, University of Alberta, 1944, pp. 117-118. In Saskatchewan, Dr. Foght pointed out the five pressing problems:
1. Small district schools are ineffective and impracticable [sic]; 2. trustees often misdirect their efforts; 3. the inequality of school support; 4. the abuses in the selection of teachers; and 5. the small districts which are unable to meet community needs. H.W. Foght, *A Survey of Education*, pp. 27-28.

[8] G.E. Britnell, *The Wheat Economy*, p. 104.

[9] W.A. Mackintosh, *Economic Problems of the Prairie Provinces*, Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, p. 138. The percentages year by year are as follows:

1918	60%	1923	63%
1919	63%	1924	65%
1920	62%	1925	65%
1921	63%	1926	69%
1922	60%	1927	69%
		1928	66%

[10] C.A. Dawson and E.R. Younge, *Pioneering in the Prairie Provinces: The Social Side of the Settlement Process*, Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, p. 190.

[11] Report of the Rural Schools Committee, *Annual Report*, 1918, U.F.W.A. Papers, p. 86, Glenbow Archives, Calgary.

[12] Copy of Mrs. Haight's speech, no date, Haight Papers, Provincial Archives, Saskatchewan. [P.A.S.]

[13] L.R. Barritt, "The Rural Elementary School," *The U.F.A.*, November 1, 1928, p. 9.

[14] "The Municipal Rural High School," *The U.F.A.* July 15, 1927, p. 22.

[15] "Report of the Rural Schools Committee," *Annual Report*, 1918, p. 89, The U.F.A. Papers, Glenbow Archives, Calgary.

[16] Leona R. Barritt, *The A.T.A. Magazine*, July, 1924, p. 5.

[17] Nellie L. Carr, Convenor of Rural Schools, *Report and Year Book*, U.F.A. Annual Convention, 1920, microfilm, p. 104, Glenbow Archives, Calgary.

[18] "Educating our Children," *Reports and Addresses*, Twelfth Annual Convention, U.F.W.A. Papers, January 19-22, 1926, p. 47, Glenbow Archives, Calgary.

[19] "Education as the Basis of the New Social Life," *The U.F.A.*, March 23, 1927, p. 6.

[20] Between 1922-1924 several constituency locals of the S.G.G.A. fielded candidates in federal and provincial election campaigns, all without official S.G.G.A. backing. In the provincial election of 1921, the elected farmers' candidates formed the second largest group in the house, with twelve members. S.M. Lipset, op. cit., p. 81.

[21] Correspondence from Mrs. Gunn, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, November 25, 1972.

[22] Thomas Flanagan shows the political cleavage drawn at the Red Deer river. See his "Political Geography and the United Farmers of Alberta," in S. Trofimenkoff, editor, *The Twenties in Western Canada*, p. 138.

[23] W.L. Morton writes that for the 1918 executive of the U.F.A., 8 of the 19 members were American born. *The Progressive Party in Canada*, p. 38.

[24] James Gray, op. cit., p. 197.

[25] H.B. Neatby, op. cit., p. 145.

[26] *The Canadian Annual Review*, 1920, p. 772.

[27] Lipset would disagree with this statement though Leo Courville's more recent research claims that Lipset fails to discern the conservatism of Saskatchewan's social base. Lipset claims that the impressive showing of Progressive candidates in the 1921 federal election (winning all Saskatchewan seats but Regina city) was "the result of the educational and organizational work of the previous two decades." *Agrarian Socialism*, p. 79.

[28] Allen R. Turner has written a Master's thesis on this farm leader for the University of Saskatchewan.

[29] A.R. Turner, "W.R. Motherwell and Agricultural Development in Saskatchewan, 1905-1918," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1958, p. 135.

[30] *The Canadian Annual Review* for 1913 reports that "No single organization in the West has had so great an influence in directing legislation as the Grain Growers' Association of Saskatchewan." [p. 608]

[31] Surprisingly, perhaps, the majority of Liberal M.L.A.'s were not farmers: in 1908 for example only eleven, reports D.S. Spafford, were farmers, and of these only one farmer was invited into the cabinet. See "Independent Politics in Saskatchewan Before the Nonpartisan League," *Saskatchewan History*, vol. XVIII, 1965, pp. 2-3.

[32] Few political parties have been as strong through organization of the party machine as was the Liberal Party of Saskatchewan at this time. See Escott Reid, "The Saskatchewan Liberal Machine Before 1929," *C.J.E.P.S.*, vol. 2, 1936, pp. 27-40; and a contemporary journalist, who wrote: "Smooth as a stream-lined motor car, steady as a steam-roller, slick as a newly-ground piston, the Saskatchewan Liberal party is the super-machine of Canadian politics." B.T. Richardson, "High Politics in Saskatchewan," *The Canadian Forum*, September 1934, p. 461.

[33] W.L. Morton, op. cit., p. 234. David Smith's published study, Prairie Liberalism: The Liberal Party in Saskatchewan, 1905-1971, describes the rejuvenation of the Liberal party under C.A. Dunning's guidance, with assistance from party organizer James Gardiner. See pp. 168-169.

[34] After his service to Liberalism in the 1921 Election, Maharg resigned from the Cabinet to lead the Independents in the Legislature, while George Langley was forced from the Cabinet "for interference with the administration of justice in the discharge of a political obligation," W.L. Morton, The Progressive Party in Canada, p. 231.

[35] Anderson claims that in the 1921 Federal election the S.G.G.A. was "solidly behind the federal Progressive party." F.W. Anderson, "Some Political Aspects of the Grain Growers' Movement, (1915-1935) with Particular Reference To Saskatchewan," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1949.

[36] Lipset argues that another cause of the breakaway was the unwillingness, initially, of the S.G.G.A. leadership, to forego their support for the government sponsored Co-operative Elevator Company in order to back a province wide campaign for the Wheat Pool. The Co-operative Elevator Company was directed by former Grain Growers' leaders and Liberal cabinet ministers. See Agrarian Socialism, p. 84.

[37] David Smith, Prairie Liberalism: The Liberal Party in Saskatchewan, 1905-1971, p. 99.

[38] J.C. Hopkins, The Canadian Annual Review, 1922, pp. 799-800. See D.S. Spafford, "The Origin of the Farmers' Union of Canada," Historical Essays on the Prairie Provinces, pp. 254-266.

[39] Quoted in Lipset's Agrarian Socialism from S.W. Yates, The Saskatchewan Wheat Pool, Saskatoon, 1947, p. 57. Although concentrating on the commercial, the Farmers' Union in Saskatchewan, patterned after its American counterpart, was also intended to be an educational force among farmers, as the American name suggests: The Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union. See C.C. Taylor, The Farmers' Movement 1620-1920, pp. 335-364.

[40] See W. Calderwood, "The Decline of the Progressive Party in Saskatchewan, 1925-1930," Saskatchewan History, Autumn 1968, pp. 81-99.

[41] George Williams was no doubt the most prominent radical in the farm movement at that time. So unhappy was he with the amalgamation of farm groups in 1926 that he formed the Farmers' Educational League, a handful of fellow activists, to work within the U.F.C. towards gaining the leadership. After this success, Williams went on to head the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in Saskatchewan, 1935-1941. Evelyn Eager, "The Conservatism of the Saskatchewan Electorate," in Politics in Saskatchewan, N. Ward and D. Spafford editors, 1968, pp. 1-18.

[42] On the other hand, the U.F.A. stood constant in support of the Canadian Council of Agriculture. H.E.G.H. Scholefield, vice-president, and Mrs. Amy Warr, U.F.W.A. president, were both executive members of the C.C.A., as were the former prominent S.G.G.A. leaders Frank Eliason of Wynyard, and George F. Edwards. The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1928-29, p. 480.

[43] Ibid., 1924, p. 806.

[44] Kyba writes that the Liberal Government was burdened with problems by 1929. "Some were angered at the dearth of good roads in their area; others at the failure to obtain a public building; many were alarmed at the apparent "Balkanization" of the province; and still others feared that the Government was over-solicitous to the Roman Catholic segment of the population." J.P. Kyba, "The Saskatchewan General Election of 1929," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, p. 14.

[45] Calderwood writes that the antagonism between Premier Gardiner and the Progressives, who were stunned by a series of electoral setbacks at the hands of the Liberals, provincially and federally, helped forge something of a progressive-conservative alliance for the election of 1921. "The Decline of the Progressive Party in Saskatchewan, 1925-1930," Saskatchewan History, Autumn 1968, p. 97.

[46] The U.F.A. Membership roll shows a drop from 30,079 in 1930 to 18,175 in 1931. N. Priestley and E. Swindlehurst, Furrows, Faith and Fellowship, p. 33.

CHAPTER III

FOOTNOTES

[1] W.L. Morton, The Progressive Party in Canada, p. 11.

[2] Ibid., p. 217.

[3] W.C. Good, "The Farmers' Movement in Canada," The Dalhousie Review, vol. 2, no. 1, 1921-31, p. 480. Good further defines the content for such education: "It is therefore not only necessary that our education acquaint us with the laws of the physical universe; we must also learn the moral laws, for without knowledge of, and obedience to these, all co-operation with external nature may be turned to dust and ashes." Ibid., p. 480.

[4] M.H. Staples, The Challenge of Agriculture, p. 43.

[5] Agnes Macphail, "Education as the Basis of the New Social Life," The U.F.A., March 23, 1927, p. 6.

[6] H.S. Patton, Grain Growers' Co-operation in Western Canada, p. 44fn.

[7] S.M. Lipset, Agrarian Socialism, p. 65.

[8] Quoted in Hopkins Moorhouse, Deep Furrows, 1918, p. 270.

[9] E.J. Garland, "The Farmers' Group in Politics," The Canadian Forum, vol. 6, 1925-26, p. 272.

[10] H.S. Patton, op. cit., p. 379.

[11] W.L. Morton, The Progressive Party in Canada, p. 11.

[12] Paul Sharp, Agrarian Revolt in Western Canada, p. 34. Sharp records that between 1909 and 1914 the Grain Growers' Grain Company poured $60,000 into the prairie farm organizations' coffers to aid them in their educational endeavors. See p. 35.

[13] Ibid., p. 37.

[14] C.B. Macpherson, Democracy in Alberta, p. 28.

[15] A.S. Morton, History of Prairie Settlement, p. 131.

[16] Canadians In The Making, Toronto, Longmans, Green and Company, p. 72.

[17] G.D.H. Cole, A Short History of the British Working-Class Movement, 1789-1947, London, George Allen and Unwin Limited, 1925, p. 77.

[18] The Constitution of the Canadian Labour Congress, 1873, gave notice of the need for education: "Whereas the workingmen of the Dominion of Canada, in common with the intelligent producers of the world, feel the necessity of co-operation and harmonious action to secure their mutual interests, just compensation for their toil, and such limitations in the hours of labour as may tend to promote their physical and intellectual well-being...." Quoted in M.S. Cross, The Workingman in the Nineteenth Century, Toronto, Oxford University Press, 1974, p. 275.

[19] S.E.D. Shortt, "Social Change and Political Crisis in Rural Ontario: The Patrons of Industry, 1889-1896," in Oliver Mowat's Ontario, D. Swainson, editor, pp. 211-235. Shortt describes the Patrons as a secret rural society, initially, evolving by 1893 into a politically active group, and in its final stage entering briefly into national politics.

[20] T. Saloutos, Twentieth Century Populism, Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1951, p. 113.

[21] T. Saloutos and J.D. Hicks, Twentieth Century Populism, p. 220.

[22] "Constitution," Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association papers, Constitution and By-Laws, P.A.S., Saskatoon.

[23] A.R. Turner, "W.R. Motherwell and Agricultural Education, 1905-1918," Saskatchewan History, vol. XII, 1959, pp. 82-85.

[24] Lipset claims that the S.G.G.A., at least in its earliest years, was marked by "extensive grass roots discussion of governmental problems," and that annual and

24 continued district conventions were well-attended. His findings do not contradict this writer's description of the S.G.G.A. as an organization obsessed with the dollar and cents aspects of farming. See Lipset's "Political Participation and the Organization of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in Saskatchewan," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, volume 14, 1948, p. 203.

[25] The U.F.A., April 15, 1922, p. 25.

[26] The U.F.A., February 15, 1927, p. 14.

[27] The U.F.A., March 1, 1932, p. 4.

[28] The U.F.A., September 16, 1929, p. 5.

[29] The U.F.A., February 1, 1927, p. 11.

[30] The U.F.A., February 1, 1928, p. 17.

[31] The U.F.A., February 1, 1929, p. 17.

[32] "Minutes and Reports," 1928, U.F.A., p. 4, Glenbow Archives, Calgary.

[33] The organized women of the S.G.G.A., in their best year, 1920, recorded 8000 members. Canadian Annual Review, 1920, p. 772, and an average yearly membership of 5000 women during its best years. On the other hand, the membership of the U.F.W.A. between the years 1920 and 1931 fluctuated between 4536 and 1761, with the serious decline occuring after 1929. Among juniors, the S.G.G.A. had a yearly membership of around 500 between 1920 and 1925, whereas the Junior U.F.A. average for the same five-year period was double that figure. Also, the Junior organization in Alberta grew consistently through the years, even with the depression. In the years just before the Social Credit landslide, the Junior memberships were averaging over 2000. See The U.F.A., September 1, 1933, p. 19 and March 1, 1934, p. 16.

[34] L.D. Nesbitt, Tides in the West, (No date), p. 392.

[35] E.A. Corbett, University Extension in Canada, p. 45.

[36] William Kirby Rolph, Henry Wise Wood of Alberta, p. 10.

[37] Paul F. Sharp, The Agrarian Revolt in Western Canada, p. 144.

[38] The same year as Wood was confirmed as U.F.A. president (1916) he contested the Liberal nomination in Calgary West. He was defeated 33-25 in his only attempt to win a political office. Ibid., p. 16.

[39] W. Irvine, The Farmers in Politics, pp. 84-85. Despite Irvine acceding the argument to Wood, and joining with him, he remained loyal to his politically aggressive Non-Partisan League background. Upon Wood's retirement Irvine became an ardent supporter of the C.C.F.

[40] W. Irvine, Co-operative Government, p. 217.

[41] E.J. Garland, "The Farmers' Group In Politics," The Canadian Forum, vol. 6, 1925-26, pp. 270-272.

[42] Ibid., p. 271.

[43] Letter from H.W. Wood to Mrs. J.L. McNaughton, president of the women's section of the S.G.G.A., May 27, 1922, McNaughton Papers, P.A.S.

CHAPTER IV

FOOTNOTES

[1] A.S. Morton, Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, vol. 2, p. 131.

[2] J.C. Hopkins, The Canadian Annual Review, 1919, p. 374.

[3] Morton cites such organizations as the Settlers' Union 1882-1885, which "passed away without any positive achievement;" and the Patrons of Industry, 1891-1896 which disintegrated after "the failure of the order in its attempt to form a political power." Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, volume 2, pp. 93-116.

[4] J.C. Hopkins, op. cit., p. 356. The organ of the movement, the Grain Growers' Guide, was begun in 1908 under the editorship of E.A. Partridge. Its expressed objects were "to aid in the discussion of the economic and social problems which confront us, to assist in unifying opinion among our farmers and other workers... and to serve as a trumpet in marshalling our forces for the accomplishing of whatever has been decided is best to be done." Ibid., p. 358.

[5] Ibid., p. 364.

[6] J.C. Hopkins, Canadian Annual Review, 1922, p. 828.

[7] Little mention is made of the Education Department after the 1921 Convention. The work of publishing the newspaper must have taken up most of the energy of the education secretary.

[8] Minutes, U.F.A. Convention, 1921, p. 4.

[9] The U.F.A., March 1, 1922, p. 1.

[10] "Education as the Basis of the New Social Life," The U.F.A., March 23, 1927, p. 7.

[11] Canadian Annual Review, 1922, p. 824.

[12] John MacDougall, Rural Life in Canada, pp.139-140.

[13] The U.F.A., March 1, 1921, p. 22.

[14] Ibid. By 1934 Mr. Macklin, supported by Henry Young of Millet presented on the floor of the Annual Convention their resolution asking that special courses on social sciences and co-operation be incorporated into the high school curriculum. Once again the Honorable Perren Baker, U.F.A. Minister of Education, foiled their attempt to win Convention support. Baker said: "Have we the right to compel the children of all of the people to be taught in our schools the particular [in another setting he had used "peculiar"] social philosophy which we embrace, but which is not embraced by many people throughout the province?" The U.F.A., March 1, 1934, p. 16.

[15] Minutes of the U.F.A. Convention, 1934.

[16] Ibid.

[17] At the time of writing Mr. Macklin still resides on his farm on the outskirts of Grande Prairie. He is a relatively wealthy resident of this Northern Alberta city, controlling sizeable land holdings within and near Grande Prairie. After 1932 Macklin worked as vigorously for the C.C.F., contesting the seat three times in the span of twelve years. Through the years he has written for the local newspaper and other farm journals. He remains active, although past eighty, and recently prepared a brief for the Walter Worth Education Commission in the province. He is a highly respected citizen of the area.

[18] Rev. Albert E. Larke, "The Aims of the U.F.A. in Relation to Christian Teaching," The U.F.A., June 1, 1927, p. 4.

[19] Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform, p. 152.

[20] H.W. Wood, The Significance of U.F.A. Sunday, The U.F.A., May 15, 1923, p. 5.

[21] The U.F.A., Nov. 1, 1926. The newspaper also outlined the task set before this committee: to prepare news releases and radio broadcasts, to do statistical research, to dispense information to the farmers from the Department of Agriculture, Faculty of Agriculture, and other agricultural bodies, and to prepare packages of "Wheat Pool Lectures" for use at the Local Level.

[22] The following year, and again in 1930, the Institute was held in three locations, Lethbridge, Olds and Vermilion. Attendance totals for 1929 were: adults 581, boys 135, girls 72, for a grand total of 788 participants. W. Ross papers, Province of Alberta Archives, two bound volumes dealing with the Institute of Co-operation.

[23] The U.F.A., May 15, 1928, p. 31.

[24] "Provision of Courses in Co-operation in All Alberta Schools Brought Stage Nearer," The U.F.A., Oct. 15, 1929, p. 5.

[25] Letter to Mrs. Violet McNaughton May 27, 1922, McNaughton papers, P.A.S.

[26] Quoted from F.W. Anderson, "Some Political Aspects of the Grain Growers' Movement, (1915-1935) With Particular Reference To Saskatchewan," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1949, p. 77.

[27] C.F. Betke, "The United Farmers of Alberta, 1921-1935: The Relationship Between the Agricultural Organization and the Government of Alberta," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1971.

[28] Ibid.

[29] "President Urges Concerted Effort by Locals in Solution of Local Problems," The U.F.A., Feb. 1, 1929, p. 18.

[30] Report from Berrywater's U.F.A. local president, P.J. Haslam, in The U.F.A., June 1, 1925, p. 8.

[31] Perren Baker, unpublished diary, 1912.

[32] Report from Vegreville Local, The U.F.A., November 1, 1928, p. 4.

[33] The larger topic was broken down into sub-topics: Increasing Farming Efficiency; Increasing Price of Farm Products; Increasing Buying Power of the Farmer's Dollar. For each sub-topic, specialized papers were delivered and discussed throughout the session.

[34] Report from T.E. Searle, secretary of Tofield Local, in The U.F.A., Nov. 1, 1929, p. 5.

[35] Interview with Mrs. Winnifred Ross, former president U.F.W.A., Millet, Alberta, July 1971.

[36] B.V. Cormack, Perennials and Politics, pp. 66-67. Undoubtedly, the U.F.W.A. made much greater use of the University's resources.

[37] "The United Farmers of Alberta," pamphlet issued in 1942, Pamphlets and Circulars of the U.F.A., Glenbow Foundation Archives, Calgary.

[38] The membership record shows a gradual but steady increase in the U.F.A. general membership until 1921. Following that year of the smashing provincial electoral success for the Alberta farmers the membership dropped off, though not decisively until after 1925. Election years like 1921 and 1925 were good years for memberships, of course. N. Priestley and E.B. Swindlehurst, Furrows, Faith and Fellowship, pp. 33, 61.

[39] There is a relationship between membership numbers and the rural economic climate of any particular year.

[40] N. Priestley and E. Swindlehurst, Furrows, Faith and Fellowship, p. 46.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER V

[1] J.C. Hopkins, The Canadian Annual Review, 1919, p. 370.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Eva Carter, Thirty Years of Progress, monograph, no date nor publisher, found in Winnifred Ross papers, Province of Alberta Archives, Edmonton.

[5] Pamphlet on the 1928 "Suggested Program Ideas for Locals," Winnifred Ross papers, op. cit.

[6] William Irvine, The Farmers in Politics, p. 124.

[7] Ibid., p. 129.

[8] Eva Carter monograph, Thirty Years of Progress, Winnifred Ross papers, Province of Alberta Archives, Edmonton, pp. 22-23.

[9] In her concluding article, "The Educational Experiment of Soviet Russia," Mrs. Barritt wrote warmly of the U.S.S.R.'s efforts to "enlarge the life experience of the people." She wrote of the educational opportunities made available on a broad basis: "This fact, along with the special training possible to all the children of all the people is...the outstanding educational achievement of Soviet Russia...." The U.F.A., Dec. 15, 1928, pp. 17-18.

[10] The U.F.A., March 15, 1930, p. 34.

[11] The U.F.A., March 1, 1933, p. 21.

[12] This library was established to honor the memory of the recently deceased secretary of the movement. Thirty books formed the Library's nucleus. The U.F.A., June 15, 1934.

[13] Book loan figures are recorded in the Annual Report of the Department of Extension, University of Alberta. There is no record of titles borrowed.

[14] University week was held in conjunction with the Department of Extension, and after 1935 was sponsored and managed principally by the Department.

[15] The U.F.A., Oct. 15, 1930.

[16] P.E. Baker, "The Place of Education in the Life of the Community," The U.F.A., Sept. 15, 1922, p. 4.

[17] The U.F.A., Oct. 15, 1929, p. 16.

[18] The U.F.A., Nov. 15, 1922, p. 16.

[19] The U.F.A. Jan. 2, 1926, p. 7.

[20] This is the preface added by the Women's Page editor. The U.F.A., Jan. 15, 1929, p. 21.

[21] Ibid., p. 21.

[22] The Honorable Irene Parlby, "Co-operation in the Rural Home," Report, Annual Convention, 1923, p. 8.

[23] Letter from Mrs. Susan M. Gunn, Saskatoon, undated. Mrs. Gunn's letters will be deposited with the Susan Gunn papers, Province of Alberta Archives, Edmonton.

[24] Eva Carter, op. cit., p. 26.

[25] Letter to Mrs. John McNaughton from Mrs. Irene Parlby, March 20, 1916, McNaughton Papers, P.A.S.

[26] The best source on Irene Parlby's life is Barbara V. Cormack's Perennials and Politics, Professional Printing Ltd., Sherwood Park, no date.

[27] Address given to the 1925 Convention of the U.F.W.A., Glenbow Archives, Calgary.

[28] Irene Parlby, "Some Schools in the Old Land," The U.F.A., September 6, 1929, p. 8.

[29] Later, Donald Cameron, a past president of the Junior U.F.A. would visit Scandanavia supported by a Carnegie Foundation grant. Cameron, upon his return, joined the Department of Extension, University of Alberta, and helped initiate a bold new thrust in rural outreach with the Schools of Community Life in the late 1930's, and later travelling lecture tours for rural outreach. Interest in the Folk School Movement was also generated among the men by the U.F.A.'s I.V. Macklin who presented successfully before the 1934 Convention the following Resolution: "We recommend also that into our regular educational courses there may be infused, wherever possible, something that will tend to develop in our students a mind that shall look out on its fellows with the thought of mutual helpfulness rather than with the thought of exploitation. We regret that so little has been done along this line in the past while for over a decade the opportunity has been ours." Annual Report, 1934, p. 14.

[30] Barbara V. Cormack, op. cit., p. 122.

[31] Miss Parkhurst called her plan after the Dalton, Massachusetts School in which it was initiated in 1910.

[32] The U.F.A., February 9, 1928, p. 14.

[33] Mrs. Barritt was also the organization's first Convenor of Education. She delivered, at the 1918 Convention, what many consider to be the greatest address on rural education ever given before the U.F.W.A., calling for a reorganization of the entire public school system, a renewed emphasis on religious training within the school, a greater emphasis on the place and purpose of technical and agricultural schools, an upgrading of the training for rural teachers, and the establishment of a co-ordinating Canadian Bureau of Education. Annual Report, The U.F.A. Convention, 1918, pp. 86-89. Mrs. Gunn contends that it was Mrs. Barritt's inspiration which "started us off and formed the basis of subsequent studies." Letter from Susan M. Gunn, November 29, 1971.

[34] Letter from Mrs. S.M. Gunn, no date, in the writer's possession.

[35] Letter from Mrs. Gunn in writer's possession, no date.

[36] "Address of President of U.F.W.A. to Annual Convention of United Farmers of Alberta," The U.F.A., Feb. 1, 1928, p. 12.

[37] "Our Educational Machinery Largely Outworn," The U.F.A., February 9, 1928, pp. 14-15

[38] "President's Address," The U.F.A., 1926, p. 5.

[39] Letter from Susan M. Gunn, March 27, 1972.

[40] Ibid.

[41] It should be pointed out that during the period 1925-36 Mrs. Ross usually convened the education work. There were exceptions - for example, in 1927 Mrs. Clarke Fraser held the position, in 1929 Mrs. P.C. Hepburn.

[42] In her 1929 address on Rural Education, Mrs. Ross stated that, "as far back as 1925 in my report as Convenor on Education, I introduced the possibility of municipal school districts and the matter was fully debated, and a resolution asking that one or more Municipal School districts be established to test out the feasibility of the plan was adopted. A similar resolution was adopted the following year...." A copy of this Report is in the Winnifred Ross papers, Province of Alberta Archives, Edmonton.

[43] Report of the Education Committee to the U.F.W.A. Convention, Annual Report, 1932, pp. 19-21

[44] "Report on Education," 1929, Winnifred Ross papers, Province of Alberta Archives, Edmonton.

[45] Ibid.

[46] The Manuscript for this radio address is in the Winnifred Ross papers, Province of Alberta Archives, Edmonton.

[47] A.E. Ottewell, Report, Department of Extension, 1936, p. 4.

CHAPTER VI

FOOTNOTES

[1] Zella Spencer wrote a regular column for the Women's Page of The U.F.A.

[2] From 47 members in 1917 the Juniors grew to 1536 by 1922. Like the seniors the organization fell back during the 1920's, 987 in 1925 and 595 in 1926, but made a significant if temporary recovery during the following decade. See Official Minutes and Reports of the Annual Conventions, The U.F.A., Reels 1-2-3, Glenbow Archives, Calgary.

[3] S.M. Gunn, "Progress of United Farm Women Reviewed...," The U.F.A., February 1, 1927, p. 24. Forty-five years later (July 8, 1972) Mrs. Gunn would write: "Through Junior locals working in close co-operation with local U.F.A. and U.F.W.A. groups I thought that by a process of osmosis, if nothing else, that these young people would be fired with enthusiasm as I was, for was not service our goal and equity our motto."

[4] Statement from U.F.W.A. President Susan M. Gunn in Mrs. Osborne's 1926 "Saskatchewan Junior Grain Growers' Report." McNaughton Papers, P.A.S.

[5] The U.F.A., August 1, 1929, p. 28.

[6] Zella Spencer, "The Importance of Our Junior Locals," The U.F.A., November 15, 1928, p. 20.

[7] The U.F.A., May 15, 1922, p. 15.

[8] Junior Branch Work, 1941-49, U.F.A. papers, Glenbow Foundation Archives, Calgary.

[9] "Statement of Purpose," Twenty Seventh Farm Young People's Week, Edmonton June 7-14, 1945, U.F.A. - U.F.W.A. Board and Convention Minutes, Glenbow Foundation Archives, Calgary, microfilm.

[10] Letter from Mr. Fry, president of the Junior U.F.A., 1930-1931, in a letter to this writer February 9, 1974.

[11] The U.F.A., September, 1923, p. 12.

[12] "Third Annual Report to U.F.A. Convention," U.F.A. - U.F.W.A. Board and Convention Minutes, 1925, Glenbow Foundation Archives, Calgary, microfilm.

[13] In 1926 the first Junior District Association was formed, composed of locals from Dalemeed, Meadowbrook and Sunrise. This form of structure proved unpopular with the Juniors. Junior President's Report, 1927, U.F.A. - U.F.W.A. Board and Convention Minutes, 1915-1949, Glenbow Foundation Archives, Calgary, microfilm.

[14] The presidents during the organization's early years: L.E. Kindt, 1920-1922, later with the Federal Department of Agriculture, U.S.A. Donald Cameron, 1923-1925, now Senator Cameron. Charlie Mills, 1926-1929, who went on to combine a successful farm career with school teaching. Francis Fry, 1930-1931, Anglican priest. Wilfred Hopkins, 1932-1935, who later became general manager of the United Farmers of Alberta Co-operative.

[15] In 1935. the Junior President's expense budget was $150.00 - not insignificant considering the economic conditions at the time. (U.F.A. Minutes of Board Meeting, January 19-23, 1935, Winnifred Ross papers, Province of Alberta Archives, Edmonton.

[16] Membership continued to climb in the 1930's with 1933 a banner year - 2038 memberships. Nevertheless the fall was soon upon them. Winnifred Ross wrote of 1935 and the Social Credit avalanche: "The Junior Organization has not recovered from the setback it received in 1935. Although there are as many delegates at the Conference as before, many of them are sent by Senior Locals, and their number is no criteria of the strength of the Junior Locals." "Survey of the Junior U.F.A.," report of Mrs. Ross as president of the U.F.W.A., 1940-1945, Winnifred Ross Papers, Province of Alberta Archives, Edmonton. The maximum age for belonging to the Junior U.F.A. was set at 25.

[17] Letter from Mr. George Bechtold, Armstrong, B.C., April 15, 1974, in the writer's possession.

[18] Letter from Mr. George Bechtold, April 15, 1974.

[19] The U.F.A., December 15, 1923, p. 2.

[20] "The Juniors," *The U.F.A.*, February 1, 1928, p. 24.

[21] Report of the Annual Convention, *The U.F.A.*, July 16, 1928, p. 26.

[22] "Junior President Reviews Activities of Past Twelve Months," report of Charlie Mills, Junior president, 1926-1930, *The U.F.A.*, July 3, 1928, p. 26.

[23] Contest details as described in *The U.F.A.*, March 1, 1934, p. 26.

[24] *The U.F.A.*, November 15, 1923, p. 8.

[25] *The U.F.A.*, July 15, 1922, p. 7.

[26] Report from E.M. Peel, *The U.F.A.*, July 15, 1922, p. 9.

[27] *The U.F.A.*, October 15, 1926, p. 9. Other titles offered in the course were: G. Parker, *The Right of Way*, P.L. Haworth, *Trailmakers of the Northwest*, O.J. Stevenson, *A People's Rest*, a few titles for 1928; F.P. Grove, *A Search for America*, Naomi Mitchison, *The Conquered*, and Rafael Sebatini, *The Romantic Prince*, the sample for 1929. The lists were published each year in *The U.F.A.* November issue.

[28] *The U.F.A.*, November 1, 1929, p. 22.

[29] *The U.F.A.*, November 1, 1929, pp.22-23.

[30] *The U.F.A.*, March 15, 1930, p. 35.

[31] In the 1930's a Handicrafts' Competition was begun. A Local could enter a number of exhibits. These would be judged collectively and the winning Local named and honored at University Week.

[32] *The U.F.A.*, July 4, 1927, p. 16.

[33] *The U.F.A.*, July 15,1927, p. 19.

[34] *The U.F.A.*, June 1,1933, p. 20.

[35] The U.F.A., July 16, 1928, p. 12.

[36] J.P. Watson, "Alberta Co-operative Institute Opens Historic Sessions at University," The U.F.A., July 3, 1928, p. 6.

[37] "Minutes," first planning meeting, Institute of Co-operation, April 10, 1928, Norman F. Priestley Papers, Glenbow Foundation Archives, Calgary.

[38] The U.F.A., July 3, 1928, p. 26. Fortunately the Junior U.F.A. was endowed with very capable leadership in its early years. The Canadian Annual Review for 1925-26, for example, reports that current Junior U.F.A. president Donald Cameron Jr. "had addressed 56 meetings, organized 14 new locals and brought in approximately 300 new members" during that year of his presidency. Pg. 506.

[39] Letter from the Reverend F.S. Fry, Anglican Church of Canada, Calgary Diocese, February 9, 1974.

[40] "The Farm Young People's Conference," report by Alice Hughes including statement from Mr. Corbett, The U.F.A., July 3, 1933, pp.20-21.

[41] "Business Session," The Junior U.F.A., University Conference No. 10, June 1933, p. 12.

[42] The U.F.A., October 1, 1923, p. 8.

[43] The U.F.A., June 15, 1928, pp. 27-28.

[44] Mrs. Anna Meyer, "The Young People's Conference," The U.F.A., June 15, 1922, p. 14.

[45] "University Week for Young People," The U.F.A., June 15, 1925, p. 10.

[46] The U.F.A., June 15, 1929, p. 25. Nursing care was usually featured. In 1927, for example, a St. John's Ambulance Course was offered to the girls.

[47] F. Alice Hughes, "Report of Secretary of Junior Branch," The Junior U.F.A., University Conference, No. 10, June 1933, p. 6.

[48] The writer received the 1933 edition of *The Junior U.F.A.* from Mr. George Bechtold of Armstrong B.C., one-time director for the Juniors. The copy was xeroxed, and will be deposited with the Junior U.F.A. papers, Province of Alberta Archives, Edmonton. The magazine is really quite excellent: eighteen pages of photographs, news items from the Conference, winning speech and essay copies, messages from the Junior president and other guests, and a full description of the events; lecture highlights, and other miscellaneous jots. This was a thorough and serious publication with none of the frivolity of a high school newspaper. More akin, really, to one of the more serious university campus publications.

[49] "Junior Conference," *The Junior U.F.A.*, University Conference, June, 1933, p. 2.

[50] *The U.F.A.*, July 2, 1926, p. 10. Sixteen years later the U.F.A. secretary wrote: "[University week] has been the mainstay of the Farm Young People's Work since its inception. This is a very important event in the life of rural young people. While the week is sponsored by the Department of Agriculture and the Extension Department of the University, it could not have been carried on without the active support it has received from the three branches of the United Farmers of Alberta.... It gives many a boy and girl the urge to go to the agricultural schools, if not university, and many of them make a real effort to accomplish this." "A Brief Outline of the Junior Branch of the United Farmers of Alberta," April 1942, U.F.A. file - Junior Work, Glenbow Foundation Archives, Calgary.

[51] Miss J.B. Kidd, "Work of the Juniors," Junior U.F.A. Report, 1920, p. 97, Annual Report and Year Book, microfilm, Glenbow Foundation Archives, Calgary.

[52] Donald Cameron, "Third Annual Report," 1925-1926, Annual Report and Year Book, microfilm, Glenbow Foundation Archives, Calgary.

[53] Membership figures for the Junior U.F.A. are:

1920	942	1926	595
1921	1479	1927	904
1922	1551	1928	912
1923	902	1929	1240
1924	795	1930	1486
1925	987	1931	1579
		1932	1689

[54] This fraction assumes that over 100 young people participated yearly in University Week, another 80-100 in the Institute of Co-operation, while many were in capacities of executive leadership within the local associations.

CHAPTER VII

FOOTNOTES

[1] In Saskatchewan, the S.G.G.A. was challenged by a group of reformist farm leaders, claiming that the Association had betrayed the ideals of its founders and members.

[2] Letter to George Stirling, August 19, 1927, in the George Edwards papers, P.A.S.

[3] February 22, 1919, quoted in Richard Allen's "Salem Bland and the Social Gospel in Canada," p. 142.

[4] Ibid., p. 141.

[5] Ibid., p. 224, "Valedictory Address."

[6] Vide, Canadian Annual Review, 1920, p. 772. Musselman's resignation to become Managing Director of the Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Company was a considerable loss to the moderates in the S.G.G.A.

[7] George Edwards papers. Central Board Report, 1924, P.A.S.

[8] For an excellent description of the Saskatchewan government's educational efforts, see G.E. Britnell, The Wheat Economy, pp. 115-121.

[9] Vide. F.W. Anderson, "Some Political Aspects of the Grain Growers' Movement, (1915-1935) With Particular Reference to Saskatchewan," pp.26-27 and L.A. Wood, op. cit., pp. 174-175.

[10] E.A. Corbett, University Extension in Canada, p. 40.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Richard Allen, op. cit., pp. 128-129.

[13] T.G. Heath's article, "Protest Songs of Saskatchewan," deals briefly with the farmers' songs. There was a militancy in the words, Heath explains, and one that must have encouraged the radical wing of the

13 continued
farmers' movement. Saskatchewan History, volume XXV, Autumn 1972, number 3, pp. 81-91.

[14] During the 1920's the S.G.G.A. executive decided to curb expenses and centralize the organization's affairs in the one provincial meeting.

[15] "Programme," Annual Meeting, District No. 6, 1917, S.G.G.A. papers, P.A.S.

[16] Surely anathema to H.W. Wood was Secretary Musselman's efforts to contact service, professional, labour and other such groups throughout the province for their recommended platform suggestions - almost indicating the farmers' inability to draw up his own political statement.

[17] "Provincial Platform," statement by Secretary Musselman in the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' file, P.A.S.

[18] Report, Twenty-fourth Annual Convention, p. 71, S.G.G.A. file, P.A.S.

[19] "Suggestive Programme of Winter Studies," 1921, S.G.G.A. file, P.A.S.

[20] "Executive Report, 1924," George Edward's papers, P.A.S.

[21] "Suggestive Programme of Winter Studies," 1921, pp. 6-7, S.G.G.A. papers, P.A.S.

[22] "A Method to Make Your Local a Success," The Western Producer, December 10, 1925.

[23] "Grain Growers and the Church," editorial, Regina Leader, May 19, 1917, S.G.G.A. file, P.A.S.

[24] H.A. Innis, editor, The Diary of Alexander James McPhail, p. 26.

[25] "Educational Policy Report," Ibid., p. 62.

[26] Ibid., p. 64.

[27] Letter of March 17, 1918 in the McNaughton papers, P.A.S.

[28] L.A. Brown, "Progressivism and the Press in Saskatchewan, 1916-1926," unpublished Master of Arts thesis, p. 5.

[29] Richard Allen, op. cit., p. 148.

[30] L.A. Brown, op. cit., p. 6.

[31] Vide. L.A. Cremin, The Transformation of the School, p. 46.

[32] Clifford Sifton's letter to John Dafoe, January 28, 1925, throws light on the radical division among Saskatchewan farmers: "I met Charlie Dunning.... He told me some things that were a complete surprize to me. He said there was an organization strong in Saskatchewan [Farmers' Union]. This, he tells me, is an out and out radical deadbeat organization, appealing directly to the impecunious and those who are so loaded with debt that they do not ever expect to get out of debt. He says they are a secret organization, oath bound with grips and pass-words and the like, and he says there are six hundred lodges in Saskatchewan....He says they are spreading like the measles." Ramsay Cook, The Dafoe-Sifton Correspondence, 1919-1927, volume II, p. 196.

[33] Duff Spafford, "The 'Left Wing' 1921-1931," Politics in Saskatchewan, p. 45.

[34] Ibid., p. 44.

[35] "Constitution and Laws," Farmers Union of Canada, pamphlet file, P.A.S.

[36] Farmers Union of Canada, pamphlet file, P.A.S.

[37] Minutes and Reports, 3rd Annual Convention booklet, Farmers Union of Canada file, P.A.S.

[38] The Women's Auxiliary did not supplement as much as merely support the work of the men's group. Their statement of aims reads, in part: "The Auxiliary has the same aim as the Farmers' Union of Canada - Better farming conditions - that is better prices for our own particular farm produce - butter, eggs, poultry, etcetera." First

38 continued
Circular Letter, from Mrs. J. Thompson, Central Secretary, August 24, 1925, Farmers' Union file, P.A.S.

[39] "The Necessity for Study," The Western Producer, December 3, 1925. The Farmers' Union had earlier discussed the possibility of starting their own newspaper. This did not come about.

[40] Resolutions for the 1925 Convention, Farmers' Union of Canada file, P.A.S.

[41] Vide. F.W. Anderson, "Farmers in Politics, 1915-1935," especially chapter VI: "Amalgamation of Agrarian Educational Organizations in Saskatchewan."

[42] Report, p. 27, Annual Convention, 1927, U.F.C. file, P.A.S.

[43] Minutes and Reports, 1928, pp. 8-9, U.F.C. file, P.A.S.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid., p. 10.

[46] F.W. Anderson, op. cit., p. 129.

[47] Central Board Report for 1924, George Edward Papers, P.A.S.

[48] U.F.C. pamphlet: "Committees and Their Work," U.F.C. pamphlet collection, P.A.S.

[49] H.A. Innis, editor, The Diary of Alexander James McPhail, pp. 184-185.

[50] Ibid., p. 3.

[51] Much of the material available was in the form of pamphlets available free upon request. A few of the topics were: "Co-operation in Nature" by Professor Sharr and, "Co-operation and World Peace" by Laura Jamieson, "Education for Peace" by Pearl Johnston, "The History of Co-operation" by John T. Hull, and "The Romance of Co-operative Achievement," G.W. Robertson. See U.F.C. pamphlet file, P.A.S.

[52] Director Grayson, Minutes of Board Meetings for March 1929 - November 1930, page 8, U.F.C. file, P.A.S.

[53] David Smith, Prairie Liberalism: The Liberal Party in Saskatchewan, 1905-1971, p. 102.

[54] A better known progressive was as suspect of the U.F.C. as was Williams. Bill Irvine wrote: "The U.F.C., which is the Saskatchewan section of the organized farmers of Canada, refuses to take political action, and is (hopelessly divided) between the Liberal and Conservative parties, while other groups formed in other parts of Canada are as yet unborn in Saskatchewan." Co-operative Government, Ottawa, Mutual Press, 1929, p. 209.

[55] Williams helped organize the Farmers' Educational League, a sister to Alberta's extreme leftist Farmers' Unity League. Working within the larger U.F.C. the Educational League succeeded in its task of gaining control. The Manifesto of this small, radical group showed its intentions and orientation: "The Farmers' Educational League is an educational and agitational organization which bases its activities on the realities of the class struggle and endeavors to educate and organize the farmers to change the existing system of exploitation into one that will produce for use and not for profit." "Manifesto of the Farmers' Educational League," U.F.C. pamphlet file, P.A.S.

[56] Minutes and Reports, report of the Education and Rural School's Committee, U.F.C. file, 1928, P.A.S.

[57] Ibid., 1926.

[58] Minutes and Reports, U.F.C. file, 1928, P.A.S.

[59] On the other hand the Education Committee of the Saskatchewan Wheat Pool was much more aggressive in its recommendations to government. Meeting with Dr. Huff, Superintendent of Schools, on February 21, 1930, the Committee requested:

1. A substantially lighter course of studies in the higher grades.
2. A schooling that educates for citizenship and individuality;
3. the teaching of nature science through "controlled observation,"
4. the introduction of social science, with the philsoophy of co-operation, "the guiding

59 continued
spirit of the whole social science course." Obviously this was a much different kind of Education Committee than that of the U.F.C. Memorandum in the McNaughton Papers, P.A.S.

[60] The Western Producer, October 22, 1925, page 16.

[61] Letter to Mrs. Annie Hollis, May 8, 1928, U.F.C. file, P.A.S.

[62] Letter to George Edwards, May 11, 1928, U.F.C. file, P.A.S. Edwards had planned a series of summer institutes with Woodsworth as the resource person. He could not get the U.F.C. Board to back his proposal.

[63] Letter to Professor Charles Ihrig, August 12, 1930, McNaughton papers, P.A.S.

[64] This entry in the Education Committee's report to the U.F.C. Board of Directors marked the beginning of Saskatchewan's Annual Co-operative School. Minutes and Reports, March 26, 1929, U.F.C. file, P.A.S.

[65] James McCrorie in his In Union Is Strength, p. 35, claims that by the end of the 1930's the U.F.C. had suffered a great decline in its educational work. Interest had shifted to the new Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, and the Wheat Pool had replaced the U.F.C. as the dominant factor in educational work.

[66] Report, U.F.C. Annual Convention, 1930, p. 79, U.F.C. file, P.A.S.

[67] Ibid., p. 76.

CHAPTER VIII

FOOTNOTES

[1] Quoted in G.E. Britnell, *The Wheat Economy*, p. 191fn.

[2] W.G.G.A. *Year Book*, 1920, p. 7, S.G.G.A. pamphlet file, P.A.S.

[3] Letter to Mrs. S.V. Haight, December, 1914, McNaughton Papers, P.A.S.

[4] "The W.G.G.A.," copy of a speech by Mrs. S.V. Haight, no date, Haight papers, P.A.S.

[5] "Report," Eleventh Convention of the W.G.G.A., January 27-30, 1925, p. 253.

[6] Mrs. Zella Spencer of the U.F.W.A. also carried on correspondence with Mrs. McNaughton on matters of educational importance. She must have valued McNaughton's advice.

[7] M.H. Staples, *The Challenge of Agriculture*, The Story of the United Farmers of Ontario, Toronto, C.A. Morang, 1921, p. 118.

[8] Mrs. McNaughton to W. Thompson, Saskatoon, August 31, 1922, in the McNaughton papers, file on Co-operation, P.A.S. A contemporary critique of the prairie co-operative movement can be found in H.C. Grant, "Developments in the Concept of Co-operation in Western Canada," *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, volume 3, 1937, pp. 412-420.

[9] Vide. June Menzies, "Votes for Saskatchewan Women," in N. Ward and D. Spafford's, *Politics in Saskatchewan*, pp. 78-92.

[10] Mrs. Haight's papers contain the evidence of this struggle to win the use of the University's extension services, P.A.S.

[11] Speeches of Mrs. Haight, Haight file, P.A.S.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Hollis served one year as president of the U.F.C. Women's Section. She was succeeded by Pearl Johnstone, a woman whose thinking was more in line with the radical orientation of the U.F.C. near the end of the decade.

[14] By 1924 the established committees of the W.G.G.A. were in Household Economics, Marketing, Immigration, Non-English, Legislation, Public Health and Young People.

[15] "Co-operation and Education," no date - but likely 1929, file on Co-operative School, 1929-1930, Annie Hollis papers, P.A.S.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Report to the Board of Directors, August 2-3, 1923, W.G.G.A. papers, P.A.S.

[19] Ibid., 1925.

[20] Penned report in the W.G.G.A. papers, P.A.S.

[21] Ibid.

[22] W.S.G.G.A. Education Report, 1924-1925, W.G.G.A. papers, P.A.S.

[23] "In Saskatchewan since 1912, Women's Clubs have been under the direction of the University's Department of Extension," E.A. Corbett, *University of Extension in Canada*, p. 43.

[24] For a brief description of the excellent library services made available to rural areas by the Provincial Library of Saskatchewan, see G.E. Britnell, *The Wheat Economy*, chapter VI.

[25] The Travelling Library and "Open-Shelf" Library, in Alberta, were handled through the University of Alberta's Department of Extension. Saskatchewan kept its service in the hands of the Provincial Library, yet studied and copied the Alberta model. See report of a study done by Saskatchewan's Chief Librarian Mr. Hawkes, submitted to Premier Martin, W.G.G.A. papers, P.A.S.

[26] Letter to Premier Martin from Secretary Musselman, February 14, 1921, in "Library" file, S.G.G.A. papers, P.A.S.

[27] The U.F.C. continued to agitate the University to increase or broaden the work of the Extension Department. Mrs. Hollis reported to the U.F.C. Board of Directors in 1928 that the Women in their Annual Convention had again made that request of the University. "Minutes of the Executive Board," U.F.C., 1928-1929, U.F.C. Papers, P.A.S.

[28] Survey of education work done by locals, 1922, McNaughton Papers, P.A.S.

[29] Ibid., letter of May 15, 1922.

[30] Minutes and Report, Board of Directors Meeting W.G.G.A. papers, P.A.S.

[31] "Women's Page," The Western Producer, Microfilm, December 24, 1925, Mrs. McDonald reporting, P.A.S.

[32] J.C. Hopkins, The Canadian Annual Review, 1922, page 800.

[33] "Suggestive Programme for Summer Meetings," W.G.G.A. pamphlet file, P.A.S.

[34] Ibid.

[35] "Minutes," Executive Meetings, 1919-1925, W.G.G.A. Papers, P.A.S.

[36] Secretary's Report to the Eighth Annual Convention, February 14-17, 1922, p. 110, W.G.G.A. Papers, P.A.S.

[37] Report from the 1929 University Women's Week, U.F.C. Papers, P.A.S.

[38] "Farm Women's Week," The Western Producer, April 4, 1929, page 8, P.A.S.

[39] "Minutes," Board of Directors, U.F.C., 1928, p. 332, U.F.C. Papers, P.A.S.

[40] Ibid., p. 331.

[41] The Juniors' Committee also brought pressure to bear upon the University's official to obtain assistance from their Extension Department, "to put on a two-weeks winter course similar to that held in Ontario and Manitoba, and also to encourage the staging of a Boys' and Girls' Parliament similar to the Boys' Parliament held under the Tuxis Organization in Ontario and Manitoba." Report of the Junior Committee on Young People's Work, 9th Annual Convention, January 26-30, 1923, p. 155.

[42] Following amalgamation, Mrs. Ida McNeal, past president of the W.G.G.A., assumed the youth convenorship until 1928. At that time Mr. S.W. Yates was placed in charge of the work.

[43] Year Book, W.G.G.A., 1920, p. 10, W.G.G.A. Papers, P.A.S.

[44] Miss Linfoot's "Report on Young People," Seventh Annual Convention, February 1, 1921, W.G.G.A. Papers, P.A.S.

[45] Mrs. Hollis' address to the founding Annual Convention of the U.F.C., March 22-25, 1927, U.F.C. Papers, P.A.S.

[46] "Constitution," Juvenile Grain Growers of Saskatchewan, W.G.G.A. Papers, P.A.S.

[47] At its strongest, before amalgamation, Miss Linfoot reported, in 1921, that the Junior movement consisted of 26 active clubs, 10 almost organized, 15 potential groups and 500 enrolled members. Miss Linfoot's report to the Board of Directors, November 25-26, 1921, p. 93.

[48] "Minutes," Meeting of the Board of Directors, October 10, 1927, U.F.C. Papers, P.A.S.

[49] One local group worked up enough enthusiasm to adopt a yell, thus:

"We aren't fretters
We aren't sissies
We can bake, we can sew, we can use our muscles,
We can dance, we can run, and we get on a hustle,
Watch our smoke; see what we do

49 continued
Junior Grain Growers,
Hip, Hip, Hooray!
Yell of Trenton Junior Grain
Growers' Local The Western
Producer, p. 10, P.A.S.

[50] "Saskatchewan Junior Grain Frowers [sic] Report," January 1926, W.G.G.A. Papers, P.A.S.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Report on Junior Work, Ida McNeal, "Official Minutes and Reports of Proceedings," Third Annual Convention, February 12-15, 1929, U.F.C. Papers, P.A.S.

[53] Report on Young People's work, W.G.G.A. Board of Director's meeting, February 17, 1922, W.G.G.A. Papers, P.A.S.

[54] Report on Young People's work, W.G.G.A. Board of Directors Meeting, August 2-3, 1923, W.G.G.A. Papers, P.A.S.

[55] The contest was passed by the Board of Directors, W.G.G.A., at their meeting of August 15, 1925, "Minutes," p. 227, W.G.G.A. Papers, P.A.S.

[56] Report on Junior Work, "Official Minutes and Report of Proceedings," Third Annual Convention, February 12-15, 1929, U.F.C. Papers, P.A.S.

[57] Ibid.

[58] "Minutes," Board of Directors' meeting, p. 174, W.G.G.A. Papers, P.A.S.

[59] "Farm Girls' University Week at Saskatoon Is Outstanding Success," The Western Producer (microfilm) May 30, 1929, P.A.S.

[60] "Official Minutes and Report of Proceedings," Third Annual Convention, February 12-15, 1929, U.F.C. Papers, P.A.S.

[61] In 1921 the executive of the women's section recommended, "that the Committee on Young People's work be required to communicate with the Department of Education

61 continued
with a view to so co-ordinate all the work of the Boys' and Girls' Clubs and our own Clubs, that it will lead to the institution of a farm young people's short course similar to that in Alberta." "Minutes," Board of Director's Meeting, November 25-26, 1921, p. 99, W.G.G.A. Papers, P.A.S.

[62] Frank Eliason, U.F.C. Secretary, reported that the 1930 membership roll showed 19 Junior lodges and 466 members. That same year at the Annual Convention, the following resolution had been passed: "Whereas our Junior Lodges are at present ineffective through lack of cohesion, leadership and objective; Therefore be it resolved that we authorize our Board of Directors to organize a Junior U.F.C. and formulate a constitution to govern it." See "Minutes and Reports," Fourth Annual Convention, February 25-28, 1930, U.F.C. Papers, P.A.S.

[63] "Executive Minutes of August 15, 1930," U.F.C. Papers, P.A.S.

[64] "Education for Juniors," The Western Producer, June 26, 1930, p. 9, P.A.S.

[65] "Junior Organization," The Western Producer, April 18, 1929, p. 8, P.A.S.

[66] Mr. Yates report on Junior Activities, "Minutes and Reports," Board of Directors, 1929, U.F.C. Papers, P.A.S.

[67] "Junior Organization," The Western Producer, July 4, 1929, p. 9, P.A.S.

[68] Yates planned to place upon the new executive considerable responsibilities: "Each member of the junior executive, with the exception of the president, will be the convenor of a committee, and will be responsible for the gathering together of information relating to his or her special subject. When the next annual junior assembly comes around, each will be asked to prepare a report, and to read it before the delegates. In this way a great deal of information will be gathered together, which junior lodges will be able to discuss in their meetings, and thus a definite policy will be gradually formed and laid before the juniors throughout the province." "Junior Organization," The Western Producer, July 24, 1930, p. 9, P.A.S.

CHAPTER IX

FOOTNOTES

[1] See, for example, K.L. Butterfield, "A Significant Factor in Agricultural Education," *Educational Review*, volume 21, 1901, pp. 301-306.

[2] The earliest institutions were established in legislation by the North-West Territories Assembly in 1890. A year later six actual institutes came into being. See F.H. Auld, "Farmers' Institutes in the North-West Territories," *Saskatchewan History*, volume X, pp. 41-54.

[3] Ibid., p. 304.

[4] Ibid., p. 305.

[5] Letter to H.W. Wood, May 18, 1922, McNaughton Papers, U.F.A. Correspondence, P.A.S.

[6] F.W. Anderson, op. cit., p. 103.

[7] "W.S.G.G.A. Executive Report, 1923," *Minutes and Reports*, Twenty Third Annual Convention, January 23-25, 1924, S.G.G.A. Papers, P.A.S. Later, S.W. Yates would direct similar criticisms to the women of the U.F.C.

[8] W.G.G.A. Vice-President, Mrs. McNeal, reporting on the district conventions which she had attended, found them "disappointing on the whole." "Minutes," W.G.G.A. Executive Meeting, November 15-16, 1921, p. 93, W.G.G.A. Papers, P.A.S.

[9] Resolutions submitted by the locals, 1922, S.G.G.A. Correspondence, P.A.S.

[10] Ibid., 1923.

[11] Duff Spafford, "The Left Wing, 1921-1931," *Politics in Saskatchewan*, N. Ward and D. Spafford editors, p. 54.

[12] H. Higginbotham, *Annual Report and Year Book*, 1921, pp. 26-27, microfilm, Glenbow Foundation Archives, Calgary.

[13] F.W. Anderson, op. cit., p. 75.

[14] P.J. Griffin, "Adult Education and The Rural Community," C.J.E.P.S., volume 13, 1947.

[15] Ibid., p. 540.

[16] H.C. Grant, "Developments in the Concept of Co-operation in Western Canada," C.J.E.P.S., volume 3, 1937, p. 414.

[17] Ibid., p. 414.

[18] C.G. Gustavson, A Preface to History, New York, McGraw Hill, 1955, p. 37.

[19] W.L. Bowers, The Country Life Movement in America, 1900-1920, New York, Kennikat Press, 1974, p. 110.

[20] Ibid., p. 111.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. PRIMARY MATERIALS

Books and Periodicals

Butterfield, K.L. "A Significant Factor in Agricultural Education," Education Review, vol. 21, 1901, pp. 301-306.

Clow, W.W. Christ in the Social Order, London, Hoddar and Stoughton, 1913.

Foght, H.E. A Survey of Education in the Province of Saskatchewan, Canada, Regina, King's Printer, 1918.

Garland, E.J. "The Farmers' Group in Politics," The Canadian Forum, vol. 6, 1925-26, pp. 270-272.

Good, W.C. "The Farmers' Movement in Canada," The Dalhousie Review, vol. II, no. 1, 1922-23, pp. 476-484.

Hopkins, J. Castell, editor. The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, Toronto, The Canadian Review Co. Ltd., 1915-1930.

Innis, H.A., editor. The Diary of Alexander James MacPhail, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1940.

Irvine, William. Co-operative Government, Ottawa, Mutual Press, 1929.

Irvine, William. The Farmers in Politics, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1920.

Lambert, Norman. "The Farmers in Politics," The Grain Growers' Guide, July 7, 1920, pp. 65-70.

McDougall, John. Rural Life in Canada, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1913.

Moorhouse, Hopkins. Deep Furrows, Toronto, Geo. J. McLeod, 1918.

Patton, H.S. Grain Growers' Co-operation in Western Canada, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1928.

Staples, M.H., editor. The Challenge of Agriculture: The Story of the United Farmers of Ontario, Toronto, C.N. Morang, 1921.

Victor, E.A., editor. *Canada's Future*, Toronto, MacMillan, 1916.

West, Edward. "A Grain Growers' Meeting," *Homesteading: Two Prairie Seasons*, London, Fisher, Unwin Ltd., 1918.

Wood, Louis A. *A History of the Farmers' Movements in Canada*, Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1924.

Manuscripts, Newspapers and Archival Materials

Glenbow Institute and Archives, Calgary: Collections, papers, manuscripts for:
- Alberta Institute of Co-operation
- Cameron, James A.
- German, Roy O.
- Macklin, I.V.
- Parlby, the Honorable Irene
- Priestley, Norman F.
- Spencer, Henry E.
- U.F.A. - U.F.W.A., Annual Report and Yearbook, 1920-1930, microfilm.
- U.F.A. - U.F.W.A., Official Minutes and Reports of the Annual Conventions, microfilm,
  - Reel 1 1909-1922
  - Reel 2 1923-1928
  - Reel 3 1929-1935

Province of Alberta Archives, Edmonton: Collections, papers, manuscripts, for:
- Baker, Perren Earle
- Ross, Mrs. Winnifred

Province of Saskatchewan Archives, Saskatoon: Collections, papers, manuscripts, for:
- Dunning, the Honorable Charles A.
- Edwards, George F.
- Farmers' Union of Canada, 1921-1926
  - File V Convention Minutes and Reports
  - File VII Correspondence and Circulars
- Haight, Mrs. S.V.
- Hollis, Mrs. Annie
- McNaughton, Mrs. Violet
- McPhail, Alexander J.
- Motherwell, the Honorable W.R.
- S.G.G.A., 1914-1926.
  - File II Miscellaneous collection, including convention reports.
  - File III Publications.
  - File IV Women's section.

U.F.C. (S.S.), 1927-1949.
File IX Convention reports, Executive Minutes
File X Correspondence
File XI Agricultural Education, Co-operative Schools, Youth Work.
File XVI Publications

The Junior U.F.A., June 1933.

The U.F.A., volume for 1922, 1923, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1932, 1933.

The Western Producer, volume for 1925-1930, microfilm.

B. SECONDARY MATERIALS

Books and Periodicals

Allen, A.R. "The Social Gospel and the Reform Tradition in Canada, 1890-1928," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. XLIV, no. 4, December 1968, pp. 381-399.

Auld, F.H. "Farmers' Institutes in the North West Territories," *Saskatchewan History*, vol. X, 1957, pp. 41-54.

Avakumovic, Ivan. "The Communist Party of Canada and the Prairie Farmer: The Interwar Years," *Western Perspectives 1*, Toronto, Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Ltd., 1974.

Bahmer, R.H. "The American Society of Equity," *Agricultural History*, vol. XIV, January, 1940, pp. 33-63.

Brennan, J.W. "C.A. Dunning and the Challenge of the Progressives, 1922-1925," *Saskatchewan History*, vol. XXII, 1969, pp. 1-12.

Britnell, G.E. *The Wheat Economy*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1939, especially chapter VI: "Provincial and Municipal Institutions."

Burnet, Jean. "Town-Country Relations and the Problems of Rural Leadership," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, vol. 13, no. 2, 1947, pp. 396-409.

Calderwood, William. "The Decline of the Progressive Party in Saskatchewan, 1925-1930," *Saskatchewan History*, vol. XXI, 1968, pp. 81-99.

Cameron, J. and Hurd, W.B. "Population Movements in Canada, 1921-1931, Some Further Considerations," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, volume 1, 1935, pp. 222-245.

Careless, J.M.S. "Frontierism, Metropolitanism and Canadian History," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. XXXV, no. 1, March 1954, pp. 1-21.

Chalmers, John. *Schools of the Foothills Province*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1967.

Chalmers, John. *Teachers of the Foothills Province*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1968.

Charyk, John C. *The Little White Schoolhouse*, Saskatoon, The Western Producer Press, 1968.

Colquette, R.D. *The First Fifty Years: A History of the United Grain Growers Limited*, Winnipeg, Public Press, 1957.

Corbett, E.A. *Henry Marshall Tory*, Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1954.

Corbett, E.A. *University Extension in Canada*, Toronto, The Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1952.

Cormack, Barbara. *Perennials and Politics*, Sherwood Park Professional Printing, no date.

Dawson, C.A. and Younge, E.R. *Pioneering in the Prairie Provinces: The Social Side of the Settlement Process*, volume VIII, Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, Toronto, MacMillan, 1940.

Easterbrook, W. and Aitken, H. "The Wheat Economy," *Canadian Economic History*, Toronto, MacMillan, 1956.

Fox, P.W. "Early Socialism in Canada," *The Political Process in Canada*, J. Aitchison, editor, Toronto University of Toronto, 1963.

Grant, H.C. "The Co-operative Movement: Developments in the Concept of Co-operation in Western Canada," *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, vol. 3, August 1937, pp. 412-420.

Gray, James H. *Men Against the Desert*, Saskatoon Western Producer Prairie Book, 1967.

Gray, James H. *The Roar of the Twenties*, Toronto, MacMillan, 1975.

Gray, James H. *The Winter Years: The Depression on the Prairies*, Toronto, MacMillan, 1966.

Griswold, A.W. *Farming and Democracy*, New York, Harcourt, H. Brace and Company, 1948.

Heath, T.G. "Protest Songs of Saskatchewan," *Saskatchewan History*, vol. XXV, no. 3, Autumn 1972, pp. 81-91.

Heberle, Rudolph. "Observations on the Sociology of Social Movements," *American Sociological Review*, vol. XLV, no. 3, June 1949, pp. 346-357.

Hedlin, Ralph. "Edmund A. Partridge," *Transactions*, The Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba, no. 15, 1960, pp. 59-68.

Hicks, John D. *The Populist Revolt*, Minnesota, University of Minnesota Press, 1931.

Hoffman, George. "The Saskatchewan Farmer - Labor Party, 1932-1934: How Radical Was Its Origin?" *Saskatchewan History*, vol. XXVIII, Spring 1975, no. 2, pp. 52-64.

Irving, John. "Prairie Ideals and Realities," *Queen's Quarterly*, vol. LXIII, 1956, pp. 188-200.

Irving, John. *The Social Credit Movement in Alberta*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1959.

Lipset, S.M. *Agrarian Socialism: The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation in Saskatchewan*, Garden City, Doubleday and Company, 1950.

Lipset, S.M. "The Rural Community and Political Leadership in Saskatchewan," *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, vol. 13, 1947, pp. 410-427.

Mackintosh, W.A. *Economic Problems of the Prairie Provinces*, vol. IV, Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, Toronto, MacMillan, 1935.

MacPherson, C.B. *Democracy in Alberta: Social Credit and the Party System*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1953.

MacPherson, Ian. "The Co-operative Union of Canada and Politics, 1909-1931," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 54, no. 2, 1973, pp. 152-175.

Mann, W.E. *Sect, Cult and Church in Alberta*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1955.

McCrorie, J.N. In Union Is Strength, Saskatoon, University of Saskatchewan, 1964.

McHenry, Dean. The Third Force in Canada, Los Angelos, University of California Press, 1950.

McNaught, K.A. A Prophet in Politics, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1959.

Michel, H. and Grant, H.C. "The Co-operative Movement," The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, vol. 3, August 1937, pp. 406-420.

Morton, W.L. The Progressive Party in Canada, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1950.

Morton, W.L. "The Social Philosophy of Henry Wise Wood, The Canadian Agrarian Leader," Agricultural History, vol. XXIII, 1948, pp. 114-123.

Morton, W.L. "The Western Progressive Movement, 1919-1921," Proceedings, Canadian Historical Association, 1943, pp. 41-55.

Neatby, H. Blair. The Politics of Chaos, Toronto, MacMillan, 1972.

Nesbitt, Leonard. Tides in the West, Saskatoon, Modern Press, no date.

Patterson, R.S. and Wilson, L.J. "The Influence of the Danish Folk School in Canada," Paedagogica Historica, vol. XIV, no. 1, 1974, pp. 64-79.

Patton, H.S. Grain Growers' Cooperation in Western Canada, New York, Ams Press, 1928.

Phillips, C.E. The Development of Education in Canada, Toronto, W.J. Gage and Company, 1957.

Priestley, Norman and Swindlehurst, Edward. Furrows, Faith and Fellowship, Edmonton, Co-op Press, 1967.

Reid, Escott. "The Saskatchewan Liberal Machine Before 1929," The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, vol. 2, February 1936, pp. 27-40.

Richardson, B.T. "High Politics in Saskatchewan," Canadian Forum, September, 1934, pp. 460-474.

Rolph, W.K. Henry Wise Wood of Alberta, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1950.

Russell, P.A. "The Co-operative Government's Response to the Depression, 1930-1934," *Saskatchewan History*, vol. XXIV, Autumn 1971, pp. 81-100.

Saloutos, T. "Expansion and Decline of the Nonpartisan League," *Agricultural History*, vol. XIX, 1946, pp. 235-252.

Saloutos, T. "The Agricultural Problem and Nineteenth-Century Industrialism," *Agricultural History*, vol. XXI, 1948, pp. 156-174.

Saloutos, T. and Hicks, John. *Twentieth Century Populism: Agricultural Discontent in the Middle West, 1900-1939*, Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1951.

Sharp, Paul. "The American Farmer and the 'Last Best West,'" *Agricultural History*, vol. XXI, 1947, pp. 65-75.

Sharp, Paul. "When Our West Moved North," *The American Historical Review*, vol. 55, 1949-50, pp. 286-300.

Sinclair, P. "The Saskatchewan C.C.F.: Ascent to Power and the Decline of Socialism," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. LIV, no. 4, December 1973, pp. 419-433.

Smiley, Donald, editor. *The Rowell/Sirois Report*, Book I, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1963.

Smith, David. "A Comparison of Prairie Political Developments in Saskatchewan and Alberta," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. IV, no. 1, Feb. 1969, pp. 17-26.

Smith, David. *Prairie Liberalism: The Liberal Party in Saskatchewan, 1905-1971*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1975.

Spafford, Duff. "The Origin of the Farmers' Union of Canada," *Saskatchewan History*, vol. XVIII, no. 3, Autumn 1965, pp. 41-54.

Steeves, Dorothy. *The Compassionate Rebel: Ernest E. Winch and His Times*, Vancouver, Evergreen Press, 1960.

Swainson, Donald, editor. *Historical Essays on the Prairie Provinces*, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1970.

Taylor, Carl. *The Farmers' Movement, 1620-1920*, Westport, Greenwood Press, 1953.

Thomas, L.G. *The Liberal Party in Alberta: A History of Politics in the Province of Alberta, 1905-1921*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1959.

Trofimenkoff, S.M., editor. *The Twenties in Western Canada*, (Papers of the Canadian Studies Conference) Ottawa, History Division, National Museum of Canada, 1972.

Underhill, F.H. *In Search of Canadian Liberalism*, Toronto, MacMillan, 1960.

Unger, Gordon. "James G. Gardiner and the Constitutional Crisis of 1929," *Saskatchewan History*, volume 23, 1970, pp. 41-49.

Ward. Norman and Spafford, Duff, editors. *Politics in Saskatchewan*, Don Mills, Longmans Canada, 1968.

Young, W.D. *Democracy and Discontent*, Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1969.

Young, W.D. *The Anatomy of a Party: The National C.C.F., 1932-1961*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1969.

Unpublished Materials: Theses

Allen, A.R. "Salem Bland and the Social Gospel in Canada," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1961.

Anderson, F.W. "Some Political Aspects of the Grain Growers' Movement (1915-1935) With Particular Reference to Saskatchewan," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1949.

Brown, L.A. "Progressivism and the Press in Saskatchewan, 1916-1926," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1966.

Calderwood, William. "The Rise and Fall of the Klu Klux Klan in Saskatchewan," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, Regina, 1968.

Courville, Leo D.E. "The Saskatchewan Progressives," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, Regina, 1971.

Kyba, J. Patrick. "The Saskatchewan General Election of 1929," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1964.

McCrorie, James. "The Saskatchewan Farmers' Movement: A Case Study," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Illinois, 1972.

Prang, Margaret. "Some Opinions of Political Radicalism between Two World Wars," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1953.

Pratt, D.F.P. "William Irvine, M.A., B.D., and The Winnipeg Labor Church," unpublished B.D. thesis, St. Andrew's College, 1962.

Russell, P.A. "The Co-operative Government in Saskatchewan, 1929-1934," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1970.

Schultz, Harold J. "William Aberhart and the Social Credit Party," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Duke University, 1959, copy deposited with Glenbow Institute Archives, Calgary.

Smith, Marcia. "The Ideological Relationship Between the United Farmers of Alberta and the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation, unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1967, University of Alberta microfilm.

Stolee,L. "The Parliamentary Career of William Irvine," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1969.

Turner, A.R. "W.R. Motherwell and Agricultural Development in Saskatchewan, 1905-1918," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1958.

Unger, J. Gordon. "James A. Gardiner: The Premier As A Pragmatic Politician, 1926-1929," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 1967.

Unpublished Materials: Letters and Interviews

Mr. George Bechtold, Armstrong, British Columbia, former director, Junior U.F.A., 1933-1934. Letters: January 17, 1974, April 15, 1974.

The Rev. Francis Fry, Diocese of Calgary, former president, Junior U.F.A., 1930-1939. Letters: January 21, 1974, February 9, 1974.

Mr. E.J. Garland, Creston, British Columbia, former Ginger Group member, Member of Parliament, and first organizer of the C.C.F. Interview: December 4, 1972.

Mrs. Susan Margaret Gunn, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, former president, U.F.W.A., 1924-1929. Interviews: July, 1971, December 1972. Letters: November 4, 1971, November 29, 1971, January 6, 1972, January 29, 1972, March 27, 1972, November 25, 1972, April 28, 1972, July 7, 1972, February 26, 1973.

Mr. I.V. Macklin, Grande Prairie, Alberta, former chairman of the Education Committee, U.F.A. Letters: September 10, 1971, December 3, 1971, January 6, 1972, June 26, 1972.

Mrs. Winnifred Ross, Millet, Alberta, former president, U.F.W.A., 1940-1945. Interviews: May 1971, July 1971.